



ANNE, R.

W Hereas, we are fully sensible
of the Fidelity and Loyalty
of JOHN KER, of Kerland Esq;
and of the Services he hath performed
to Us, and Our Government: **W**E
therefore grant him this Our Royal
Leave and Licence, to keep Compa-
ny and Associate himself with such as
are disaffected to Us and Our Go-
vernment, in such Way or Manner
as he shall judge most for Our Ser-
vice. Given under Our Royal Hand,
at Our Castle of Windsor, the 7th of
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THE *5 M. f*
MEMOIRS

O F

John Ker, of Kersland *K*
in North Britain Esq;

CONTAINING

His Secret Transactions and Negotiations in
Scotland, England, the COURTS of Vienna,
Hanover, and other Foreign Parts.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the Rise and Progress of the *Offence*
Company in the *Austrian Netherlands*.

Published by Himself.

*We should not regard any of our Fellow-Subjects as Whigs or
Tories: But should make the Man of Merit our Friend, and
the Villain our Enemy.*

ADDISON'S Spect. N^o 123.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.XXVI.

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18

MEMOIRS





TO THE

Right Honourable

Sir **ROBERT WALPOLE.**



A M at Length, Sir, prevailed upon through the Importunity of all that know me to Publish these Memoirs, wherein I have been obliged perhaps to take too particular Notice of some Persons of Honour and Distinction, for Coherence sake only, without which the Narration would not be so very plain and intelligible ; and if herein I have offended, it is what I could not avoid without either omitting or transgressing the Truth, which I have told more freely, of my self, than any Body else.

M y

MY inviolable Attachment to the *Hannover* Succession and Revolution Principles, wherein I was Educated, prevailed with me to do many Things in Favour of that Interest, which I am now sensible were not altogether compatible with my Duty, either to God or my Country ; for though at that time I firmly believed the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties depended upon Establishing the Succession in that Line, which there was no other way to Effect but by the UNION. Yet I have since discovered so much of the Artifice of Man intermixed therewith, that it was next to an Impossibility to act in Concert with a Preservation of the Actor's Integrity.

No doubt I have disgusted the *German* Ministers ; and perhaps some carping Criticks, who love *Foreigners* better than I do, will say, I have been too severe upon them ; and ten to one will object, that if I had been better used I had been still silent, and that the ill Treatment I received from them hath prompted me to what may look like Resentment.

It is true, Human Nature is subject to Flattery, and is often blinded with Self-Interest ; and for my part, I have no Pretences to Perfection, but I declare it is the Height of my Ambition to be sensible, when I depart from my Duty, and to make all the Acknowledgment I can.

It is natural for every Man to vindicate and defend himself, if possible ; and I know no other way to do it, than by telling real Matters of Fact ; and only such as I know, without the least Partiality in my Observations ; and upon a serious Perusal of which, it will be found, that I have not charged any Man unjustly. Nevertheless, having in a particular manner been most notoriously aspersed my self, for laying the Foundation of the Emperor's *East-India Company*, I think my self obliged to set Things in a fair Light, and have therefore subjoined a full Account of that new Settlement, demonstrating, that there was Pains enough taken to prevent the Damages we are like to suffer from it (though to no purpose) the Gentlemen of our *East-India Company* rejecting

jecting my Proposals for Reasons best known to themselves, which I wish may be good. I pretend not to teach them their Duty ; to correct or prescribe Laws to them : But they must not take it ill, if I endeavour to convince the Publick, that my *Negotiations* therein were well meant ; and if any Thing had been done amiss, even That by the Methods I proposed might have tended to their Advantage.

ONE Thing I can answer for, which all who know me will allow, that Money was never my Master ; it was never the most powerful Argument to prevail with me, nor any Motive or Consideration whatsoever either to approve or conceal what some People have done to the Prejudice and Dishonour of *Great-Britain.*

THE Inconveniencies which attend most Authors, might have justly discouraged me from appearing in Print ; besides the want of a proper *English* Style, and handling the Subject perhaps with an uncommon Plainness. Though if your Honour will be pleased to forgive me the Freedom of this Address, I hereby promise

mise not to be again troublesome in the like manner. Yet at the same time I have the Vanity to Flatter my self, as most Authors do, that some People will be pleased with what they find here, because many Things are discovered, which have hitherto been Secrets; or rather which few People ever knew but my self, and consequently I am forced to be an Author, whether I will or no.

EVERY Reader must certainly be pleased with knowing what hath been so long concealed to all the World; and the Merchant and Trader with what he will find in my Account of the *Offend* Company; which Notices, I believe, they will all agree with me should be published, and I hope therefore the Digressions, concerning my present Misfortunes, and my Solitude, will be pardoned; at least, since I am not to hope for any Relief, unless your Honour's favourable Regard turn the Current of my adverse Fate, and retrieve the great Damage I have sustained in my Fortune by serving His Majesty.

I ALSO propose by the Publication another Advantage, to be in some Measure restored to the Favour of those, who have been disoblighd and taken Offence from their want of knowing those Facts which I have now brought to Light : For though I have been, as it were, buried in Oblivion for some time past, yet my Sufferings are not occasioned through any wilful Mistakes of my own, as may easily be perceived ; and though I have been thus *treated*, yet under your Honour's Patronage will I not *Despair*.

I AM very sensible I ought to make an Apology for prefixing your Name, to these Papers, as also for not sooner making them Publick : And I hope my Reasons for the latter, will in a great Measure vindicate me from a Charge of Presumption in the former ; for till that happy *Revolution at Court*, which delivered us, from the Insolence of Foreigners, (which I have as fully as was proper for me explained in these Memoirs,) Truth might have proved one of the most dangerous Crimes ; and as the whole Kingdom in general owe
their

The Dedication. xi

their present Felicity to the Steadiness of
your Exemplary Conduct and Resolution
for the Publick Good ; so this humble At-
tempt of mine to open the Nation's Eyes
could not with Justice be ascribed to any
other Name than that of WALPOLE.

I am

SIR,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

KER of Kerland.

THERE is now Published in twenty Volumes *ANGLIA ILLUSTRATA*. Containing, I. The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of *Surrey*. By *John Aubrey*, Esq; F. R. S. With curious Observations concerning the Soil of this County, and many new Experiments in Husbandry; particularly that excellent Method of Levelling Grounds at a small Expence; invented by Captain *George Evelyn*. Five Vols. 8vo.

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All printed for HENRY CURLL in the Strand.

On Reading these MEMOIRS.

A

LETTER

Sent on Reading the
Following MEMOIRS.

SIR,

I here return you the Sheets that you committed to my Perusal, which I have read over with a deal of Pleasure; they contain a large Field of Novelty; and of that too, a vast Variety. Whether we impute the Original of writing Memoirs to Cæsar, or allow the People he wrote of, to be the Inventors: I will be bold to say, this Author has not followed any old Track, but has laid out a Road of his own, which, tho' broad as the ancient Watling-street, few, like him, will be sincere enough to chuse for Travelling on. He is indeed severe upon others; but, at the same time, lays an Embargo on their Censures for it, by his greater Severities upon himself. And, certainly, that Person who treats his own Actions with such a freedom of Blame, cannot reasonably be supposed to write for the Vanity of Writing, so much as for the sake of Truth. Neither, are his Transactions trifling, or his Remarks im-momentous: But, as

the one carry all along a Face of Importance, the other are commonly, necessarily explanative. Men and Manners seem to have been his Study, even to the Risque of his Fortune: After saying which, it may not be improper to offer to the World some Account of the Writer; and that with the same freedom with which he has made to the World, an Offering of his Memoirs.

SAYS my Friend in the Account now before me, The Author of these *Memoirs*, (whose Name originally, was, *John Crawford*) was born in the Family-House of *Crawfurdland*, the 8th of August, 1673, being of the Ancient Family of the *Crawfurds*, of *Crawfurdland*; one of the Eldest and best Respected Families of a Commoner in the Shire of *Ayre*, in *North-Britain*; and which pretends (with some Face of Justice) to be the Chief of the Clan of the *Crawfurds*.

HIS Grand-father, *John Crawford*, of *Crawfurdland*, was a very Gallant Gentleman; renowned for his Worth, Integrity, and Courage: He signalized himself in the *Civil Wars*, betwixt the King and Parliament, taking part with the latter, till the barbarous Murder of *King CHARLES I.* After which, he commanded a Regiment of Horse in the Service of *CHARLES II.* against the Usurper *Cromwell*; in which Post, he gave many Signal Proofs of his Conduct and Bravery: And particularly at the Battle of *Hamilton*, in the Year 1651: Where he and the Colonels, *Ker*, and *Ralston*, had certainly ruined *Cromwells* Cavalry, commanded by General *Lambert*, had they not been deserted in a cowardly manner by Colonel *Hackett*. He died in the Year 1685. His

His Father, *Alexander Crawford*, was a Gentleman, eminent for his great Integrity and Learning; universally beloved, as a worthy Patriot, who devoted his whole Time to the Service of his Country, and Countrymen; in composing of Differences among Neighbours; for which his Skill in the Laws, co-operating with his Inclination, excellently qualified him. He was Master of a solid Judgment, great Probity and Affability; Qualifications sufficient to procure him Popularity without aiming at it. Nevertheless, in the Reign of King CHARLES II. notwithstanding his Father's Services, he suffered very much, his Principles being *Presbyterian*; tho' extremely charitable to such as differed in Opinion. King JAMES VII of Scotland, and of England II. offered to make him one of the Lords of Council and Session, and Justiciary in Scotland; if he would agree to the taking off the *Penal Laws*: But perceiving the dangerous Bait, and that such a Compliance must consequently tend to the introduction of *Popery*; tho' a *Dissenter*, and as such lying equally under the Severity of those Laws with the *Papist*, he rejected the Offer, and sacrificed his Ambition to the true Interest of his Country. He Died in the Year 1714, and left a very good Estate to his Son, *John Crawford*, our Author who had in the Year 1693, married a Daughter of the Family of *Kersland*; a Family in Scotland, as well Ancient as Honourable; and Chief of the Great and Numerous Clan of the *Kers*. According to the Custom of that Country, after the Death of his Brother in Law, who was killed at the Battle of *Steinkirk* in *Flanders*, in the Year 1692, leaving no Heirs Male behind him, he thereupon

iv On Reading these MEMOIRS.

thereupon assumed the Surname, Title, and Arms of the House of Kerland,

Whoever reads his Memoirs, will without Difficulty, allow him to have been a Man of Reading and Capacity; and that for Negotiations of the nicest Nature. Corruption and Bribery seems no way to have been his Foible; and even where his Zeal forestalled his Judgment, amidst his Penitence, you will find him imposing on himself, with the Severity of Judge and Jury. At least this may be rationally affirmed of him; That every Relation of his, carries along with it self-evident Tokens of its own Veracity; since in Justice to his Reader, he Contradicts a known Maxim, in both Civil and Common-Law, while he Accuses himself, and Pleads Guilty before Arraignment. But I will no longer keep the Reader from a Pleasure you have imparted to me, and therefore Subscribe without farther Ceremony,

Your most humble Servant,

Surrey May 20

1726.

PHILALETHES.

THE

THE
MEMOIRS

OF

John Ker, Esq;



PON the Restoration, the Government of the *Kirk* of Scotland was abolished, and that of *Episcopacy* established by Act of Parliament, and consequently the *Presbyterians* being driven out of their Churches, Assembled in great Numbers in the Fields, where they exercised their Religious Worship, which provoked the Civil Government to Persecute them with such Violence, as could neither be Justified by Religion or Humanity.

THE more the Government was Incensed, the more the *Presbyterians* were Confirmed in their Principles and Resolutions. The Duke of *Laserdale*, who then sat at the Helm, perceiving their Numbers rather to increase, than diminish, with great Skill and Industry divided them, by obtaining an Act of Indulgence from King *Charles*,
B which

which was so cunningly contrived, as he was sure many of them would reject it.

THE Duke's Scheme answered his Intention, for the most part of their Preachers accepted the Indulgence, who were consequently followed by the greatest Body of their Disciples, whilst their *Dissenting Brethren* declaimed against them at their Publick and Private Conventicles, in the Fields, in their Sermons, and every where, Charging them with an impious Breach of Covenant, and Violating the Fundamental Rules of *Presbytery*, which, they thought indispensably Obliged them rather to Sacrifice their Lives, than recede from the least Article of their Faith.

THE Breach soon grew so wide, that both Sides with Aversion and Hatred, shunned one another's Conversation; And by different Views were utterly deprived of that mutual Confidence and Advice, which had been of such vast Importance to them.

THE Government having got their Ends, in thus weakning the *Presbyterians*, renewed the Persecution against the *Dissenters*, whose tender Consciences could not Submit to the Indulgence, which drove the Poor unwary People to the Extremity of taking Arms against the King, *Anno 1666*. Whereupon they unanimously gathered together, and Advancing towards *Edinburgh* in a Military manner, they were Defeated at *Pentland* by the King's Forces, Commanded by General *Dalzeck*.

My

My Father-in-Law, *Robert Ker*, of *Kersland*, whom I have now the Honour to Represent, was one of the Chief Persons concerned in this Insurrection, who, having thereby forfeited his Estate, retired into *Holland*, his Estate being given to Lieutenant General *Drummond*; which he and his Heirs possessed till the *Revolution*, when the Heirs of *Kersland* were restored by Act of Parliament, Anno 1689.

I hope the Reader will pardon me for taking up any part of his Time with the private Matters of my own Family; but as it cannot well be avoided, I shall mention them as little as possible in the following *Memoirs*.

UPON this Rebellion much Blood was shed, both in Fields, and upon Scaffolds; but the severity was so far from extirpating these People, that it rather added, both to their Numbers and Zeal. They were afterwards called *Cameronians*, from *Richard Cameron*, an eminent Preacher among them, who was killed at *Aires-Moss*, with his Sword in his Hand, fighting for the Doctrine of Resistance of Self-Defence, which he had all along held forth unto them.

It is with Reluctance I trouble the Reader with any Particulars of the Cruelties of these Times, since it naturally leads me to expose some People who were at the Helm in that Reign, having no Pleasure to rake into the Ashes of the Dead: But were I altogether Silent, I should be accountable for the Odium I must thereby bring upon those who suffered in *Scotland*, merely for Conscience

lake; who must consequently be reckoned, by Strangers, to be very turbulent People, by their frequent Insurrections against the Government.

I must therefore in Justice, mention a few, out of a great many Instances of this kind, whereby the impartial Reader will easily see who was in the Right, and who in the Wrong; and perhaps be convinced with me, that the Ministry industriously forced the *Cameronians* to Rebel, whereby they might find some pretext or other to destroy them.

Anno 1678, An Army of *Highlanders* was raised under the Command of the Marquess of *Athol*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Strathmore* and *Brodalbine*, who were sent to the *West* of *Scotland*, there to Plunder and live at Discretion, upon the Effects of those poor People, who could not reconcile to their Consciences the Oaths tendred unto them.

THIS *Highland* Host Quartered and exacted Contributions at Pleasure, till they forced the *Cameronians* to a new Insurrection in May 1679, when being Assembled at a Field-Conventicle, one Colonel *Graham*, afterwards Viscount of *Dundee*, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons, Attacked them at *Drumclog*, where he was Defeated, and a great many of his Men killed.

THE *Cameronians* flushed with this Success, but dreading another Assault, gathered together Five Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Hundred Horse, which so alarmed the Government, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent down to Command the Re-

gular

regular Forces in Scotland, whereupon followed the fatal Skirmish at *Boswell Bridge*; Fatal to many an honest Gentleman in that Kingdom, who unfortunately were upon the Head of that Insurrection, and thereby incurred a new Forfeiture of Life and Fortune; which, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament at the Revolution, reversing those Forfeitures, and ordaining Restitution, still affects some Gentlemen who then forfeited, because their Estates were given by the Crown to Colonel *Cornwall*, Sir *Theophilus Ogelthorp*, and General *Main*, three English Men, who never having any of their Effects in Scotland, could not be reached by the Laws of that Nation: Nevertheless, Mr. *Gordon* of *Craighlaw*, Mr. *Gordon* of *Earlstown*, Mr. *Cockran* of *Waterside*, Mr. *Ferguson* of *Caillock*, Mr. *Martin* of *Cutcloy* and others have been always reckoned among the Loyalest Subjects, since King *William* of Glorious Memory came to the Crown; who from that Year 1679, have laboured under insuperable Difficulties (which all others, who then forfeited, were relieved from) without any probability of Reparation, as much as if the Forfeiture had never been reversed, notwithstanding all the Representations that hath been made of their Case, not only to the Government, and Mr. *Cornwall* himself; but by the Parliament also recommended to the Crown, and even in spite of the Union too.

BUT I hope it will not be unacceptable, to let the curious Reader know of a certain Accident, or rather Mistake, which the Duke of *Monmouth* was unhappily guilty of at that Time, and which contributed very much, not only to this Battle,

but even to the downfall of the Duke himself, and all the Whig-Party in *England*, which seemed then to be very near the same Pinnacle they are at now.

SHAFTESBURY, and his Party (who every one knows was in the Duke's Interest) advised the King, that the Duke should have full Power and Authority to grant the *Cameronians*, upon laying down their Arms, what Terms they pleased, (for such Capitulations have been sometimes found Convenient, even to the Crown) which would, no doubt, have exceedingly strengthened that Party in *Scotland*, and Consequently the Interest of the *Whigs* in *England*.

ACCORDINGLY, the Duke upon his Arrival offered such Conditions to the *Cameronians*, as would have made that Party very considerable, had they accepted of them: But, unluckily falling out among themselves, whether they should embrace the Duke's Offer or not, when the two Armies were within view of one another, some of them being for, but most part of them against it, Mr. *Welsh*, one of their Preachers, with 2000 of their best Men, who were for Peace, went off, the Day before the Engagement; this forced the Duke, when he saw the rest Obstinate, to fall upon them, which, if he could have avoided, the Ruin of that Party and the *Whigs* in *England* might have been prevented, which soon afterwards went to Wreck, with the Duke himself, by the very Means, in a great Measure, which *Shaftesbury*, and others had Contrived to preserve them.

BUT

BUT I intend not to trouble my Reader any more with the fatal Consequences of this Engagement, or the Proceedings of the Parliament thereupon, to which the Duke of York was sent down Commissioner, *Anno* 1681, &c. Only to let him know, that the King a little before his Death, revoked the Indulgence he had formerly granted to the *Presbyterians*, who were thereupon once more expelled their Churches. But being obliged to take Notice of another Infurrection some few Years afterwards, made by the Earl of *Argyll*, it will be Necessary to tell you his Reasons for it; He was Arraigned and Condemned by that Parliament, for explaining an Oath imposed by them called the Test, but making his Escape from the Castle of *Edinburgh* he fled to *Holland*, where he lived till *Anno* 1685. And then landing in the *West-Highlands*, he put himself at the Head of a Number of his Friends and Vassals.

My Brother, *Daniel Ker*, after the Death of my Father at *Utrecht*, landing also in *Scotland* with the said Earl, repaired to the *South-West*, where the main Body of the *Cameronians* were, and, at their Request, taking the Command upon him, he resolved to join *Argyll* as soon as possible. But some *English* Men of War, coming into our *Western* Seas, cut off the Communication, which obliged the Earl to March about by *Glasgow*, in order to join the *Cameronians* and his other Friends in the *West*, who were all upon their March to meet him: But it is Melancholy to trouble the Reader with the Particulars of that Mis-carriage. The Earl falling into the Hands of his Enemies, after his Party was dispersed near

Duntreth, &c. Which not only ushered in the Death of that great Man, but likewise buried the whole Hopes of that Party till the happy Revolution in the Year 1688, under King *William* of Pious and Immortal Memory; I shall only beg leave to take Notice of a very odd Accident which happened when the *Cameronians* were upon their March to join *Argyll*, Mr. *Pedin*, another of their Ministers stopping suddenly, intreated them to Halt, and after a short Ejaculation, cryed out, we have no Occasion to go any farther, for the Earl is this Minute fallen a Sacrifice to the fury of his Enemies. Whereupon several Gentlemen pulled out their Watches to Mark the Time, which was afterwards found to answer to a very Minute accordingly, tho' the Earl and they were at least 50 Miles distant.

ABUNDANCE of this good Man's Predictions are well known to be already come to pass, and therefore those People are pretty well assured of the Accomplishment of the rest. I shall only trouble the Reader with one of every sort; when he was Sick unto Death in the Year 1686, he told his Friends that he should die in a few Days, but having foretold many Things, *said he*, which will require some time before they be verified, I will give you a Sign, which will confirm your Expectation that they will as surely come to pass, as those you have already seen accomplished before your Eyes; I shall be decently buried by you, and if my Body be suffered to rest in the Grave where you shall lay it, then I have been a Deceiver, and the Lord hath not spoken by me, but if the Enemy come a little afterwards to take it up and carry

carry it away to Bury it in an ignominious Place, then I hope you will believe that God Almighty hath spoken by me, and consequently there shall not one Word fall to the Ground.

ACCORDINGLY, in a few Days he died, and was buried in the Church of *Auchinleck*, in the Shire of *Air*, and in a little time afterwards came a Party of *Dragoons* and took up his Body, which they carried to *Camnock*, not far distant, and buried it under the Gallows, where his Ashes remain to this Day, and whereupon the *Cameronians* have erected a Monument.

THE next I shall trouble the Reader withal (which I shall leave to his own Judgment whether it be come to pass or not, as he thinks fit to apply it, and shall not trouble him with any more such, for I will not pretend to determine it) was part of a Sermon wherein he foretold, that in a very few Years after his Death there should be a mighty Alteration of Affairs in both Nations, and the Persecution in *Scotland* should cease, upon which every Body will believe, that their Deliverance is come, and consequently will be fatally secure; but I do tell you, *said he*, that you will be all very much mistaken, for both these Kingdoms are to be scourged by Foreigners, before any of you can pretend to be Happy, which will be a severer Chastisement than any they ever yet have, or can undergo from their own Countrymen.

It cannot be amiss to mention another Accident that happened betwixt the disappointment of
Argyll,

Argyll, and the Revolution. After the Duke of *Monmouth* and that Earl's Death, King *James* supposing he was firmly established on the Throne, endeavoured to restrain the Penal Laws made against *Papists* and *Protestant Dissenters*, no doubt to promote the *Popish* Interest; but missing his Aim in Parliament (for the *Scots* strenuously opposed it) Anno 1687, He granted a Toleration to all *Papists* and *Dissenters* in General: whereupon the *Presbyterians* Built Meeting-houses, and in their general Assembly addressed the King with abundance of pretended Loyalty and Allegiance, promising inviolable Adherence to his Interest to the last Drop of their Blood, which how well they performed will appear in the following History.

UPON the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange* in 1688, the regular Forces in *Scotland* were detached thence to Oppose him, having then landed with an Army of 12000 Men in *England*, this gave my Brother, then upon the head of the *Cameronians* an opportunity to leave the Mountains, whither the regular Troops had obliged him and his People to retire, which making good Use of, he over-run the whole Kingdom, seized the Revenues of the Crown in several places, and expelled the Episcopal Clergy, from their Churches, in a manner I confess not altogether Commendable, but at a Time which was reckoned an Interregnum, he took upon him as Chief Magistrate, till the Convention of States, when he Marched to *Edinburgh*, but declined all Authority save that of Guarding the said Convention from the Insults of *Jacobites*, who were then very Numerous in Town, and in
Concert

Concert with the Lord Dundee, who was upon their Head, had at first designed to have forced the Convention of States to declare against the Prince of Orange, but despairing of success from the Opposition they were like to meet with from my Brother, and his *Cameronians*, the said Lord retired to the *Highlands*, to raise a greater Party for that End, but they answered not his Intention, his Numbers not exceeding 1500 Foot, and 40 Horse: with which nevertheless, from his singular Conduct, to do Justice to his Memory, he had certainly changed the posture of Affairs, after the defeat of General Mackay, and 14000 regular Troops which opposed him at *Killichranky*, had not providence directed that Ball, which put an end to a Life of so great Value to the *Jacobite* Party, which after that dwindled into Nothing.

THE Convention of States Voted, that King James had forfeited the Crown, and drew up a kind of Remonstrance, which they called an Instrument of Government, representing the many Hardships they lay under in former Reigns, and so Voted the Prince of Orange to Succeed, upon redressing their Grievances, confirming several Priviledges, and Immunities, &c. as at large mentioned in the said preliminary Instrument.

THEY likewise Voted to raise some regular Forces, whereof two Battalions of the *Cameronians* were formed into a Regiment, which afterwards, to their great Honour, Distinguished themselves upon several Occasions, particularly at *Dunkell*, where they stood the shock of a superior Number of that *Highland* Army, which

which but a few Days before, as I have told you, beat near four times their Number of *English* and *Dutch* Forces, under the Command of General *Mackay*. But lest the Reader should suspect me of Partiality in favour of those brave People, it will not be impertinent to give such a part of their Character, as may enable him to Account for their surmounting the utmost Difficulties, and even seeming Impossibilities.

THE *Cameronians* are strictly Religious, and ever act upon that Principle, making the War a part of their Religion, and converting State Policy into Points of Conscience. They Fight as they Pray, and Pray as they Fight, making every Battle a new exercise of their Faith, and believe, that in such a Case they are, as it were, under the Banner of Christ: if they fall in Battle, they Die in their Calling, as Martyrs to the good Cause, and believe that in thus shedding their Blood, they finish the Work of their Salvation. From such Maxims, and Articles of Faith, the *Cameronians* may be slain, never Conquered; great Numbers of them have lost their Lives, but few or none ever yielded. On the contrary, whenever they believe their Duty or Religion calls them to it, they are always unanimous and ready, with undaunted Spirits, and great Vivacity of Mind, to encounter Hardships, attempt great Enterprizes, despise Danger, and bravely rush on to Death or Victory.

WHENCE it is clear those People can never be rooted out, tho' so many of them have been Butchered in the Fields, the manner of their Deaths hath Immortalized their Memories, the Fame of their

their Resolution animates the survivors with a glorious Emulation, and the integrity and innocence of their Lives brings them many Converts, by which every loss they sustain is more than supplied, their Party wonderfully increasing by the very Means which seem to destroy it.

No wonder then from those Principles they ever have the Advantage over the *Highlanders*, whose gallant Actions have nevertheless been recorded on many Occasions, *viz.* The fatal Fields of *Killichranck*, *Dumblain*, *Glenshield*, &c. but the Valour of the *Highlanders* proceeds from a Notion of Honour common to other Men, and not purely from any particular point of Conscience, so that they may quit the Cause without a Crime, which the *Cameronians* cannot do.

It will not be improper to give an Account of the present State of *Scotland*, which is divided into three Parties, the *Presbyterian*, *Cameronian*, and *Episcopal*: For these unhappy Divisions have prevented the *Scots* from exerting themselves lately as they used to do long ago, when they had the vanity to say, that a part of the Ballance of *Europe* was in their Hands, and may have at any time again, by the same Means, when they shall be so happy as to bury, and forget their private Views, and party Jarrs, which are the Occasion of their Divisions, and have rendered them so cheap in the Eyes of the World; and when they shall unite like our Predecessors to follow such Measures as will be for the Advantage and Benefit of the whole.

THE *Presbyterians* are those of the established Church,

Church, according to Act of Parliament at the Revolution, being very numerous, but under no Concert among themselves, farther than their Church Judicatures, to which it is impossible to communicate any thing, but what must become publick, and are of late not a little weakened by an Accident in the late Reign, when the *Episcopal* Party in *Scotland*, supported by their Friends in *England*, obtain'd a Toleration. The *Presbyterian* Ministers, as well as they, were expressly ordered at the same Time to take the Oaths of *Allegiance*, and *Abjuration*, under the Penalty of being excluded *ab Officio & Beneficio*, which, notwithstanding, near the half of the *Presbyterian* Clergy refused, not from any Dissatisfaction at the Revolution Settlement, or his present Majesty's Accession, but because the Oath referred to an Act of Parliament in *England*, whereby the Sovereign, was obliged to be of the Communion of that Church.

THIS occasioned great Differences and Animosities betwixt the Complying and Nonjuring *Presbyterians*, and very much impaired what Confidence and Harmony they used to have, which may, if not prevented by a Spirit of Meekness and Charity (rare to be found among Church-Men) prove of dangerous Consequence in *Scotland*, for the Laity in that Country generally concern themselves in the Disputes and Quarrels of the Clergy, with more Zeal than Discretion.

THE *Cameronians* Affect that Form of Church Government established in the Year 1648, when *Presbytery* was at the greatest Height, Dissenting from the Indulgence granted by King *Charles II.*

the Toleration granted by King James VII. and the present Revolution Establishment, they are governed by a general quarterly Meeting composed of two Commissioners deputed from each Country, and Town, where they live, and whatever is concluded at this Meeting, is a general Rule to the whole; they are closer in their Deliberations than the other Parties are, for whatever comes before them is disputed and concluded without the least Danger of being exposed, and whatever is so resolved, is accordingly executed with the profoundest Secrecy, and Expedition; for the *Cameronians* are always ready under their proper Officers well appointed, and when it is found at their general Meeting to be their Duty, can assemble upon the least Notice given them, so that tho' they be the fewest in Number, yet they are in Effect the most Considerable of the three, for the Commonalty of the *Presbyterians*, who have a wonderful Opinion of their Piety and Virtue, always readily join with them in any Thing that concerns the Publick, which the *Cameronians* encourage and allow, but do not permit them to be Members of their Societies, or to bear any Part in the Conduct of their Affairs.

THEY continue to Preach in the Fields as they did in the Reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. when the Persecution was hot against them, still retaining the Doctrine of Resistance and Self-Defence, which they never fail to put in Practice when Violence is offered, or when in the least disturbed in their Worship, at their Meetings, or their Conventicles, or elsewhere, by any sort of Governors or Governments whatsoever.

soever: They are peaceable in this Reign, because they are permitted to live quietly, and so may be said to be Passive under the present Administration, but at the same time decline to be any way active in supporting it; being in them a mighty Point of Conscience.

THE *Episcopal* Party, whose Principles I shall not describe farther, than that they are generally in the *Pretender's* Interest, and are near one half of the Nation, among whom are to be reckoned the most part of the *Highland Clans*, whose Numbers, notwithstanding their late Misfortunes, are rather increased than diminished, for the commiseration of such, who, with their Families have suffered lately, hath brought over several Converts to that Side.

FROM all which I conclude, that the Prejudice those three Parties bear to one another, is only what makes *Scotland* so inconsiderable at Present, and consequently hinders that People from doing what I otherwise believe they are inclined to.

BUT to return to the History of that Time.

THE Prince of *Orange* embraced the Crown with the Limitations stipulated in the aforesaid Scheme of Government, and wisely considering the Expence of a War with the *Highlanders*, where the Advantage, in Case of Victory would not answer the Blood, and very great Charges it must Cost, graciously sent them a general Indemnity, and gave them such good Terms as their following Conduct justly deserved from him.

A Foreign War immediately ensuing King William's Accession to the Crown, most part of the Forces in *Scotland* were ordered to *Flanders*, whereof the *Cameronian* Regiment was a part, whom I shall follow no farther than the Battle of *Steinkirk*, Anno 1692. where many of that brave Corps exchanged their Lives for immortal Honour, among whom was my Brother-in-law ; he left behind him the Character of a great Soldier, a fine Gentleman, and to crown all, a good Christian.

I could wish to stop here, since the Prosecution of the *Memoirs* obliges me to revive a Subject, which, in my serious Hours of Contemplation, plunges me into unaffected Sorrow and Grief, for some Passages that I had much rather conceal.

But as they relate to my own Conduct, I must be just, and acknowledge, that they can never merit this Indulgence.

After my Brother's Death, by marrying his Sister, I was obliged by the Laws and Rules of that Nation to assume the Name, Title and Arms of his Family, in my own Person, and so cultivated a Friendship and good Understanding with the *Cameronians*, who, from my Brother's Death continued very quiet till the Articles of Union were signed at *Westminster*, Anno 1706.

But first I must take notice, that the *English* ever since King *James VI.* (unhappily for *Scotland*) succeeded Queen *Elizabeth* to the *English* Throne, have always from mistaken Maxims opposed the Trade and Improvement of *Scotland*,

whatever Wealth and Riches we have there, inevitably centring in *England* since that Time: Our Kings have also abated much of their Zeal for the Interest and Happiness of their ancient Kingdom, their Revenues being settled where their Residence is, whereof take the following Instance.

It was proposed in King *Charles II*d's Reign, to establish a Fishery on the Coasts of *Scotland*, not without immediate Views of great Success and Advantage; which alarmed the *Dutch*, who justly supposed, that if our Project prospered, they must lose their great Hopes of continuing to enrich their State by the same Advantage. Whereupon they so cunningly disposed their Cash, in order to disappoint this glorious Scheme, that the King, by the Advice of such as had the Honour to be of his Council, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, &c. perswaded every one to draw back their Quota's, and so sunk the Stock, and destroyed the noblest Project that ever was formed to enrich both Kingdoms. Thus the *Dutch*, who justly make Trade their best Policy, and place all their Strength and Power in their immense Riches, had the good fortune for themselves, to over-reach a People, whose aspiring Minds have a nobler turn than to stoop to such mean Artifices of acquiring Wealth, without the dangerous Honour of contending for it; whilst the *Dutch* stick at nothing they can turn a Penny by: Being the *Brokers*, a sort of Go-between for all *Europe*; who, like the laborious Bee, sucks Honey from every Flower; and by living upon the Crumbs that fall from our Table, they have almost got above-board.

It is true, The late King *James* very graciously formed a Plan of Trade, and pass'd several Acts of Parliament to favour it; whereby if it had succeeded, much Wealth must have accrued to *Scotland*; but alas! Bigotry soon diverted his Thoughts, destroyed himself, and blasted all our Hopes.

The *Scots* had likewise another Opportunity to get what reasonable Terms they pleased from *England*, had not the over-hot Zeal of the Convention proved too strong for any Views, tho, never so much to the Interest of the Country; but they had the Melancholy Occasion to make good the Proverb of *growing Wise too late*.

However, this Noble Opportunity being lost, they were willing to hope that other Advantages might accrue to them from the Accession of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which would in some Measure compensate that Loss: To improve this great Good, an Act of Parliament pass'd in *Scotland*, Anno 1694. to form a Company for *Africa* and the *Indies*, endowed with many considerable Immunities, whereupon Books were open'd at *Edinburgh*, Anno 1696, 400000 *l.* subscribed in a few Days, and Payments followed accordingly; for there was not any want of fine Genius's to devise the Means, or of brave Soldiers to support the Undertaking. The Peace of *Reswick* furnishing us with our own National Troops, returned from the *Netherlands*, whose faithful Service the King had experienced in his Wars in *Flanders*; but conscious Honesty is too often confident, and generous Simplicity easily betray'd.

Thus it fared with the *Scots*, who, upon their Attempt to settle a Colony at *Darien*, a Country only inhabited by *Indians*, and not in the Dominions of any *European* Prince, met with an Order from *England* to their Colonies in *America*, not only to discourage our Trade, but forbidding them to furnish us even with Bread and Water, or other Necessaries of Life, even for Money; by which means scarce 100 returned to *Scotland*, of near 4000 gallant Men who embarked on this Expedition; the rest perished, and thus the glorious Attempt miscarried. A grateful Return for the *Scots* Services in *Flanders*, where they so frequently exposed themselves, and lost their Lives in a brave Defence of *English* Liberty: but when Conquest was not to be had with Honour, destroying an honest People by Famine, it seems, was reconciled to I know not what Consciences.

The *Scots* resenting the loss of so much Blood and Treasure, by means so cruel and unjust, drew up an Address to the King signed by the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of that Kingdom, complaining of the unprecedented Hardships they had suffered from the *English*, in open violation of the Law of Nature, of Nations, and of the Land; but having no effect, their Hearts were alienated from the King, and exasperated against the *English*, as a People who struck at the Foundation of their Liberties: Whereupon ceased all their late Animosities, and domestick Jars, which had so divided, and weakned them before; and all seemed to unite in asserting their Rights, and retrieving the Ancient Liberties of their sinking Country, from Foreign and Domestick Enemies; which then did clearly appear

appear to arise from want of true Patriots to assert their Rights.

Which Consideration alone induced the *Jacobites* in general to qualify themselves for publick Employments, by taking the Oaths appointed by *Act of Parliament*; which, I am convinced, no other Consideration could have persuaded them to do.

Towards the latter-end of King *William's* Reign, the *English* settled the Succession of their Crown in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, by *Act of Parliament*: which whosoever reads, must have the Wisdom of that Assembly in great esteem, the Security of the Nation's Peace and Safety being thereby fixed on a Basis hardly to be shaken; having thereby wisely provided, that none but Natives should be capable of any publick Post in the Kingdom; or so much as being Members of either House of Parliament: as foreseeing the Inconveniencies that must arise from the different Interest to the *Hanoverians*; which would be to draw *Great Britain* in to espouse their Quarrels, and so create a Burden upon the Nation, without the least hopes of reaping any thing thereby. They also Enacted, That the King should not go out of the Kingdom, lest he should be diverted by Foreign Councils from their Interest; and likewise to prevent vast Sums of Money going out of the Nation, which must necessarily attend such Journies.

The *Scots* at this time unanimously refused to make any Settlement of their Crown, tho' I cannot say, it was out of any absolute Dislike to the *Hanoverian* Family; for the *Presbyterian* Party had

no other View by their standing out, but to persuade the *English* to those Measures their warm Zeal had made them forget to insist upon at the Revolution, well knowing, that upon coming into the *English* new Establishment, they would grant them all the Demands which the *Scots* could insist upon.

I must own the *Pretender* had at that Time a very great Party in *Scotland*, but all agreed against a Settlement, notwithstanding the distinguishing Party-Names of *Jacobite* and *Revolutioner*, which had been in use before, being now changed into the distinction of the Court and Country Party.

Duke *Hamilton* was at the Head of the last, who, in his Management, gave great Proofs of a Wise and Steady Conduct; for he not only cemented, but kept them together, tho' composed of Men of different Principles and Views; and tho' the Court had made many vain Attempts to corrupt them, they rejected and despised all their Offers with Scorn and Contempt, and would upon no Terms come into the Succession; openly calling the Court Party, *Traytors* to their Country: So that it was not safe either in Town or Country, to appear in the least to favour the Court, or its Abettors; the whole Country being so enraged at the *English*, for what had happen'd so lately at *Darien*,

Thus the Court was forced to comply with many things which they had no design should ever take effect; particularly the Act of Security
in

in *Scotland*; whereby the whole Nation was not only impower'd, but order'd to Rendezvous and Discipline themselves under their own proper Officers, as they themselves should chuse: Whereupon they armed immediately, and rendezvoused at every Parish-Church in the Kingdom twice a Week; which soon brought the whole Nation to such Perfection in Discipline, that they could Exercise by Beat of Drum, and perform their other Parts as well as the regular Troops.

The *English* perceiving the *Scots* were all armed and disciplined, having an Act of Parliament to justify them, were much alarmed, as reckoning it the more terrible, that the *Scots* had not yet come into the Succession. Whereupon the *English* threatned to Impeach the L. *Godolphin*, then Lord High-Treasurer, believing him in concert with the *Scots* Nation in favour of the *Pretender*. *Godolphin* finding himself attacked, had no way to save himself, but by persuading the *Scots* to agree to the *Hanover* Succession; and for that end proposed an UNION as the only Expedient to bring it about; for the *Scots* positively refused to agree to it upon the Limitations that had been propounded.

To understand this the more fully, it is fit I should inform my Reader, that there was a select Number of the Country Party who separated themselves from Duke *Hamilton*, and were distinguished by the Name of the *Squadron Volante*; consisting of the Dukes of *Montrose*, and *Roxburgh*, Marquess of *Tweeddale*, Earls of *Rothes*, *Haddingtown*, and *Marchmont*, and about 30 Commoners,

who suspecting Duke *Hamilton*, was averse from coming at any Rate, into the Succession, which they wished well to ; but were willing to procure the best Terms they could from *England* to their Country, therefore they agreed to act separately by themselves, sometimes joining with the Duke's Party when it answered their Views, and sometimes the Court Party, when the Duke's Faction seemed to push Things too far.

The *Squadron* thus answering the ends of *England*, *Queensberry* and his Faction were turned out, having, by what is said, lost the Friendship of the Country, and thereby made incapable of carrying through the Affair of the Succession ; which was what the *English* pushed so vigorously, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies that must happen, if the *Queen* demised before the *Scots* had acceded to the Succession. Whereupon the Marquess of *Tweeddale* was made Commissioner to the *Scots* Parliament, *Roxburgh* Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and several other Places of Power and Trust were put into the Hands of the *Squadron* ; who promised to endeavour to settle the Succession of the Crown of *Scotland* in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, upon establishing the proper Limitations upon the Successor, and some other Things to make the People of *Scotland* easy, and not doubting of the Assistance of *Queensberry*'s Party in this Affair, since they had vigorously pushed the Interest and Views of *England* ; but they found themselves much mistaken : For when the Parliament met, *Queensberry* did not support them, but left the *Squadron* to be intirely baffled by D. *Hamilton*'s Party ; whereupon the *English* perceiving they could

could not gain the Succession by the Interest of the *Squadron*, they were dropped, and *Queensberry* and his Friends replaced; whereupon the Union between the two Nations was projected, the *Squadron* privately agreeing to it, at the instance of the *Whig Party* of England; who nevertheless concealed their true Intentions, till the meeting of the *Scots* Parliament, *October 1706*, when by this strong addition of between 30 or 40 *French* Votes of the *Squadron*, and the addition of several Votes that then deserted the Country-Party, and joined the Court-Party by the force of prevailing Arguments and Motives so to do; the Balance was quite turned from the Country to the Court Side, as will appear in the Sequel.

Whereupon the Court proposed to the *Scots* Parliament, that a Treaty of Union should be set on foot, which the *English* were very ready to embrace: And also the *Scots*, who affected the House of *Hanover*, wanted nothing, but were ready to come into it upon previous Terms for the good of their Country; but a Dispute arising in the House whether the Queen or the Parliament should name the Commissioners, an unlucky Mistake happen'd, that *Duke Hamilton*, who was at the Head of those, who loved neither the Union, nor the *Hanover* Succession, without giving any Reason for it, at that time suddenly Voted the Queen should have the Nomination.

His Friends and Followers were in the greatest Consternation, and many of them gave their Votes at random, not knowing what they did; whereby it was carried, that the Queen should
name

name the Commissioners: Upon which, all the Duke's Friends exclaimed at him afterwards, and asked him his Reasons for so doing, which he was pleased to deliver in this manner. Had we, *said he*, chose the Commissioners ourselves, we should have met with no difficulty to name those who would have certainly procured such Terms, as we could not in Honour and Justice refuse; for the Union or War is unavoidable, and though the *English* may reasonably think that their Riches, which are the Sinews of War, may hold out longer than ours; yet they are wise enough to consider that we are all ready, and well armed, and therefore to be expected at their very Doors in the heart of *England*, before they can be so well prepared for such a Reception, as an highly exasperated and injured brave People deserves: This was likewise the Opinion of the well-affected Party to the *Hanover* Succession in both Kingdoms. But, *added he*, Gentlemen, I suppose you are for no Union at any rate, more than I, and that is the reason why I gave up the Question at once, and let her Majesty have the Honour to name the Commissioners, which I know would never have been agreed to among us, if we had disputed it before we went to the House: It is not so much out of Compliment to her Majesty, as to cover the Design, which is this. Since her Majesty has got the Power into her Hands, she will no doubt chuse such as will accept of whatever Terms *England* pleases, let them be never so much to the Prejudice and Dishonour of our Country; which, to be sure every honest *Scotsman* will resent; and, in that Case, I believe you will agree with me, that the Union will hardly take place. These, and some other

other harsh Expressions, were his Grace's words, with which his Friends seemed to be satisfied.

The Queen appointed Commissioners to treat with those of *England*, upon which a Solemn Treaty commenced, and concluded at the *Cockpit* in *Westminster*, Anno 1706.

The Parliament met at *Edinburgh* in *October* following, and the Articles of Union were read, which, contrary to the Expectation, and in spite of all the Opposition the Country Party could make, were order'd to be printed.

They were no sooner published, but they raised Indignation in all sorts of People at those who were the Managers; but especially the Commissioners, hoping the Parliament would never give them a second Reading: But how miserably were they mistaken! For that Senate (notwithstanding many Addresses which were presented to them from almost all the Cities, Towns, Corporations, and Shires, and even all the Parishes of the Kingdom; representing that the Articles were prejudicial and dishonourable, being directly opposite to the Credit and Interest of the Nation, and therefore prayed, that the Parliament might reject them) had so little regard to such Remonstrances, that the Hatred and Aversion to the Union became more universal; and *Edinburgh* was filled with Mobs, which insulted the Lord Commissioner as he came to and from the Parliament House, and all other People whatsoever, that offered to speak in favour of it: the whole Country run to Arms, and rendezvous'd in their several Parishes, oftner than

than they did before; upon which the Act of Security was suspended.

The *French King*, willing to improve these Commotions to his own Advantage, sent over some Agents and Emisaries to that Country, as did also the Court of *St. Germans*, in order to increase the Flame, and lay a Foundation for a new Revolution in favour of the *Pretender*; accordingly those Agents being pretty sure of the *Jacobites*, resolved, in conjunction with them, by all means to engage the *Presbyterians* and *Cameronians* on their Side; or at least to prevent the Union, seeing no Addresses, neither Prayers nor Threatnings, Blessings nor Maledictions could prevail,

The Advocates for *France* and the *Pretender*, perceived easily that the *Presbyterians* were averse enough to the Union; but under no Concert among themselves, having no Chief Leader, or Head, whose Counsels they acquiesced in: So that for want of such, it was scarce possible to bring them into an Undertaking of this nature, which required the greatest Secrecy; and so they turned their whole Thoughts upon the *Cameronians*, knowing them to be more exact in their Oeconomy; and that the Commonalty of the *Presbyterians* were always ready to concur with them, in any Measures they went into; but knowing likewise, that the *Cameronians* were as much prejudiced against the *Jacobites* and the *Pretender*, as the other, they industriously concealed their true Design to set him up; and used only such Arguments to persuade them to rise in Arms, as they knew best suited their Principles; that the Union, as it was

was published in the Articles, was not only dishonourable to them as *Scotsmen*, and hurtful to their worldly Interest, but destructive of their Principles; for by it they were obliged to receive Laws from a Parliament where Bishops were Members; which would not only be a notorious Breach of the National Covenant, but they would be also thereby debarred in time coming, from assisting their *Presbyterian* Brethren in *England* to establish *Presbytery* there. For by the Union *Episcopacy* was likewise established in *England*, as a preliminary Fundamental Article, never to be alter'd; which was expressly contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, whereby they were obliged to assist *England*, and establish *Presbytery* when required.

These, and such like Arguments, were used to convince and gain Credit with the *Cameronians*, which prevailed by the dextrous Conduct of the leading Men of the *Jacobites* in this and several other Cases, so far, that the *Cameronians* swallowed the Bait, and joined Issue with them in every thing they proposed; for they took care to mention nothing of their Design in favour of the *Pretender*.

I soon perceived abundance of private Transactions in favour of the *Pretender*; for it was impossible for the *Jacobites* to carry them on without my knowledge, considering the great Interest I had with the *Cameronians*. At last the Government had repeated Advices, Matters were brought to such a Crisis, that the *Cameronians* were to take Arms in the *South*, to be joined by
most

most of the *Presbyterians*, by an Agreement with the *Jacobites*, who were to march from the *North* to *Edinburgh*, in order to put an end to that Parliament, which, they said, had no other Views, but to ruin the whole Nation.

The Duke of *Queensberry*, then Lord High Commissioner, being apprized of these Matters, and knowing what Interest the Family I represent always had with the *Cameronians*, desired Sir *David Dalrymple* to send me to him in great haste, having something of Importance to communicate to me. The Duke told me, he was informed, that the *Highlanders* were ready to take Arms, in order to raise the Parliament; and only waited for the *Cameronians*, who were likewise engaged in that Affair, having appointed a Meeting on the River *Nith* near *Sanquar*, for that end; which if not timely prevented, the Parliament would not only be raised, and the regular Forces cut to pieces, but the *French* King would improve the Opportunity, by sending over Troops to that Country; by which *Britain* would become a Field of Blood, and not only the *Protestant* Religion, but even the Liberties of *Europe* would be in danger; but said, that he believed it was in my power to prevent the *Cameronians* from going into such pernicious Measures, and consequently, that the *Jacobites* durst not attempt any thing without them.

I answer'd, I was very sorry that Matters were suffer'd to come to that length, having always been an Enemy to *Popery* and the *Pretender*; but was not able to hinder the *Cameronians* from pursuing

being what Purposes they had resolved. The Duke replied, That my Predecessors had commanded them many Years, and that I was the only likely Person to prevail with them to decline such desperate Resolutions. This Rhetorick, so dextrously urged both by the Duke, and the late Earl of *Stairs*, persuaded me to yield; so that I could no longer resist such rhetorical Arguments, but desired them to make no Promises of the least Acknowledgment, or Reward; it being necessary that I could say to the *Cameronians*, that I had no private worldly Interest in view; (and truly I obtained my Request without any difficulty) but told the Duke, I foresaw some Danger: For, if I proposed to do any effectual Service, I must enter into all their Measures, and then probably they would honour me with the chief Command, and by being at their Head in Rebellion against the Queen and Government, I should expose myself to their Displeasure; and therefore it would be proper I should have a Privy Seal, authorising me to act as I found convenient: which I had accordingly some time after.

It was then I embarked so heartily in those Measures, which afterwards gave me so much Sorrow; altho' I declare solemnly, that instead of any Mischief in view at that time, I had rather the Misfortune to believe that I was doing good Service to my own Country, and the *Protestant* Interest; and desire the Reader seriously to consider how far a furious Zeal may carry one, even to act things contrary to Conscience, Honour, Interest, and every thing that is dear to a true Patriot, and a good Christian, which I wish to God had not been my Case.

Full

Full of unbridled Zeal, I set out from *Edinburgh* to *Killoth Side*, near *Sanquar*, the latter-end of *November*; 1706, where the leading Men of the *Cameronians* were assembled; who admitted me forthwith into their General Meeting, and I addressed them pretty high their own Dialect as follows:

My Friends, it is with great Pleasure and Satisfaction, I present myself to your Assembly, which meeting together at this Time, is the Occasion of my coming hither: I hope, Gentlemen, you are all sensible that Matters are now brought to a Crisis, whereby all that is dear to us as *Protestants* reformed from *Popery*, *Slavery*, &c. and also as true *Scotsmen*, is now like to be render'd precarious by the designed Union.

I shall not pretend to give my Opinion in Matters of such Consequence, but hope to be informed by the better Judgments of this worthy Assembly, whose Business I take now to be, that you consider what is incumbent on all honest Men at this critical Juncture, whether we are to oppose this Union, or not: If you agree in the Affirmative, then what sort of Opposition this shall be; for it is very evident that the Parliament resolves to ram it down our Throats, maugre all the Remonstrances of the whole Kingdom to the contrary.

I doubt not, my Friends, but in treating of such important Matters, which so nearly concern us, both in our Spiritual and Temporal Interest, that you will lay aside all Passion and private Animosities.

For

FOR my Part, I resolve to receive your Instructions, and to share in Life and Death with you, as my Predecessors have done in the worst of Times; to whom I am every way much Inferior, but shall always endeavour to follow their Steps, and particularly in their Zeal for the true *Protestant* Religion, and Affection to you, who have so just a Title to be called the *Zealous Remnant* in Scotland.

AND tho' I dare not be so Arrogant as to challenge the same respect you have always paid to them, I shall be proud to lay hold of all Opportunities to convince you, how much I respect and esteem you, and how much I have your Good at Heart.

THEY answer'd me very affectionately, and proceeded to debate upon this important Occasion, and finding, that they were all of Opinion, that such an Union would be destructive, not only of their Principles, but the Honour and Interest of their Country, which, it was therefore their Duty to Oppose at any Rate, I pretended (and would to God I had dealt more Sincerely) to join with them in all their Measures, and offered to fortify their Resolutions, with some Arguments of my own.

THEN they resolv'd to burn the Articles publicly at the Market Cross of *Dumfries*, and to Publish their Declaration, mentioning their Reasons for so doing; wherein likewise, all Those who had been any ways Aiding or Assisting to it, were declared Enemies and Traitors to their Country,

try, which was afterwards very Solemnly performed, by a considerable Party of Horse and Foot under Arms, with Sound of Trumpet and Beat of Drum.

THE Declaration being upon Record, I refer the Reader to it; for to insert any Thing here, that ever appeared in Print, would be superfluous.

THE *Cameronians*, as I expected, reposed more Confidence in me, than I deserved, which will appear but too plainly in the following Sheets. Whereupon, I dispatched an Express to the Duke of *Queensberry*, and told him, tho I had given way to such a Solemn Execution of the Union Articles, that he might be Easy notwithstanding, for it was necessary to keep up to the Decorum they expected, in order to prevent their Prosecution of such Measures as must infallibly disappoint him: And farther, I told him, it might be found expedient to burn the Houses of some that had been most Instrumental in carrying on the Union; but nevertheless, I doubted not, to order Matters so, as that nothing was to be feared from the *Cameronians* upon this Conduct, which looked very like Earnest; I am convinced the whole Body of the *Cameronians* were resolved, my unworthy Self only excepted.

BUT upon their former Agreements and Resolutions, those that were upon the Head of the *Jacobites* returned, and endeavoured to persuade us to March on to *Edinburgh*, with full Assurance, that the *Highlanders* would meet us there; which put me upon the fatal Necessity, to Cant to the
Cameronians,

Cameronians, that I suspected the *Jacobites*, who had all along been our avowed Enemies, and thirsted after our Blood, in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*, were but drawing us into a Snare, by perswading us to rise in Arms against the Government; and they being Enemies to both, would be glad to see us cut one another's Throats; being assured, they designed not to Act the Part they pretended: For we, like Christians, and brave *Scotsmen*, had given a publick Testimony against the Union, by burning the Articles, and making solemn Declarations against all that had been Aiding and Assisting thereunto: And the *Jacobites* had never yet given such publick Evidence of their Aversion to it; so our Signal not being answered by any such return from them again, as having nothing else to expect from People of their Principles, we had good Reason to doubt, both of their Resolution and Sincerity.

WITH such Arguments I cajoled the *Cameronians*, that it was an easie Matter for us to raise the Parliament at any time, without any Assistance from the *Jacobites*; and to make both them, and all the Regular Forces that Guarded them, run their Country very soon; but I told them, as prudent Men, we ought to consider what was fit to be done after so bold a Stroke: For should we separate, *said I*, we must expect to be treated as Rebels; and if we keep together, we must establish a new Form of Government; which if it be *Monarchical*, or *Republican*, it is proper to Consult the rest of the Nation; for being but a small part of it, we could not so easily set up a new Government, as to overturn the old; and therefore ought

to be satisfied with what we had done, attending the Motion of the rest of our Country-men, with whom we should endeavour to fix a Friendship and Correspondence, and so Regulate our selves accordingly, in order to Act unanimously for the Good of the whole.

WITH which Advice they seemed to be satisfied, and so for that Time we parted.

I return'd to *Edinburgh*, where abundance, both of my *Cameronian* and *Jacobite* Friends came, they, no doubt, with a very serious Intention, to come into any honest Measures against the Union, consisting with the Publick Good of their Country and Principles, to both which, the *Cameronians* are certainly very Stedfast and Faithful.

THE *Highlanders*, who impatiently expected our marching in small Parties, advanc'd towards *Edinburgh*; but hearing we had separated and gone Home, they return'd also; whereby that Storm, which must of Necessity have overturned both Parliament and Union, was at once laid without coming to Blows: For the Disappointment given by the *Cameronians*, had broke all their Measures; and thus the *Highlanders* had much more Reason to suspect the *Cameronian's* Conduct, than they had to suspect the *Highlanders*; but, with shame be it told, of the Author of these *Memoirs*, neither of them was to blame, as will, to my Sorrow, but too plainly appear.

THE Reader will, perhaps think me troublesome in loading my Story with my Faults; but sure he cannot be ill pleased, when he considers, that he had not seen the one but for the other, and will be satisfied of Impartiality in the following Sheets. For, however inconsiderable I may appear to those, who are ignorant of my Country, those who know any thing of those Transactions will easily agree, that I have been the unhappy Instrument of the Union, and consequently, what I dread to Name.

THE Duke of *Queensberry* having assured me, of being introduced to her Majesty's Favour, upon account of my eminent Services, I was thereby led in to farther Labyrinths, and added to my Misfortunes, for I was, by an over-heated Zeal, misled unto several Errors, in the Conduct of those Affairs, which I have since been heartily sorry for; but never had any Malice or ill Design in my Heart against any Person; which is all I shall say for my self.

So soon as the *Jacobites* had made the best of this woful Disappointment, they endeavoured afresh to engage into their Interest, such of the *Cameronians* as were at *Edinburgh*, but to no purpose, for I took care to start such Difficulties, as they could not surmount.

I shall only mention one Passage as a Specimen.

A Gentleman, entirely in Duke *Hamilton's* Interest, told me, that every Body was then sensible of my prevailing Interest with the *Cameronians*,

ans, and believed it was in my Power to be very useful, in relieving my bleeding Country, from the Misery it was about to be plunged into, from the Union; that it was better the *Pretender* should be our King, and we a free People, than under the notion of Liberty and Property, live Slaves for ever, by giving up at once, what neither the *Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans*, nor even the whole force of *England*, could by Conquest obtain over us,

I confessed this shocked me, especially when I reflected that a great many of my own Family bravely ventured, and lost their Lives in Defence of the Liberties of *Scotland*, against that our Neighbour Country, but my inviolable Attachment to the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and the Revolution, upon which it was founded, proved in spite of all the Arguments advanced by that Gentleman, and even in spite of all that Honour and Conscience itself could suggest, too strong for any Motive or Consideration whatsoever.

So with Design to break the *Jacobites* among themselves, I told him, that the greatest Misfortunes which our Country laboured under, arose from our Kings, being Kings of *England*; who from that unhappy Hour, always forgot the true Interest of *Scotland*, and therefore thought, that to make us once more a happy People, we must have a King of our own, who had no manner of Title to the *English* Crown; which not being the *Pretender's* Case, I should rather be for offering it to Duke *Hamilton*, whose Case it was very near, being

being descended from the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, before King *James IV.* of *Scotland*, married *Henry VII.* of *England's* Daughter.

HE seemed to like the Proposal, and said, It would be proper to try how People would relish it: I answered, It would be proper first to try the Duke, if he would be willing to Accept it; and a few Days afterwards he told me, that he doubted not but to manage Matters with the Duke, so as to procure his Approbation; tho I cannot say the Bait took, which his Grace's following behaviour testified; tho I know some People suspected him to incline that way; for tho he acted with more reserve than formerly, it was rather out of Policy than Pride, as in my Opinion, intending thereby to wheedle the *Cameronians* and *Presbyterians* into a belief, that he had a Mind to embrace the Offer, which if he had effected, he might as easily bring in the *Pretender*, as set up himself; and I am pretty sure, that was the height of his Ambition: And for this end, to perswade the People into a belief of his Sincerity, he ever afterwards pretended to be averse to every Thing that seemed to favour the *Pretender*, particularly, at the next meeting of the *Jacobites*, he seemed to cross their Inclinations so very much, that a certain great Man, with some other Persons of Distinction in that Interest, left him in a Huff, and were always diffident of him afterwards.

THUS all Endeavours to prevent the Union being frustrated, it was confirmed in Parliament, *Anno 1707.*

SOME Days before that, the Duke of *Queensberry*,

berry, and other great Men set out for *London* to present the Effects of their Labour and Industry in *April* or *May*, but before they went, two Gentlemen met me in the *Lady Murray's-Gardens*, where we discoursed about the Union, which was the common talk at that time, they insisted upon the Dishonour and Prejudice that *Scotland* would suffer by it, to which I agreed, for I was no Friend to the Union, farther than I had regard to the *Hanover* Succession, which indeed was then my Idol, as it had been all along.

THEY told me (for my Interest with the *Cameronians* was then universally known) that it was in my Power to be a very considerable Man, and might have what Terms I pleased, if I would join in a Project which was then on Foot, to bring in the *Pretender*, I said it was of too great importance to give a sudden Answer to, but would think on it, which they seemed to be pleased with, and told me, that there were some Forces expected from *France*, whereupon I forthwith went to the Duke of *Queensberry*, and told him, but concealed the Gentleman's Name, the Duke was much surprized, when he understood a *French* Power was to land in *Scotland*, and desired me to go into their Measures, in order to discover the Plot.

I told him that I was afraid, I had gone thro' too much dirty Work already, which I could neither answer to God or Man for, and wished since the Union had taken Effect, that a right use might be made of it for the good of the Country, that for my own Part I resolv'd to retire, to sit down quietly, and reap the best Crop I could
get

get from it at leisure, and there I commenced a sort of Repentance, which, alas ! did not last long.

AT last the Duke and I parted, after having used all the Rhetorick he was Master of, to persuade me, and so I went to my Friend, the then Earl of R——, for whom I had a very great Esteem, and an intire confidence in his Judgment.

AND having told him the same Story, he pressed me, as the Duke of *Queensberry* did, and said, it was impossible otherways to disappoint such a dangerous Design, for the *Jacobites* are very sensible, that you are capable to do them abundance of Service, and so will not dally with you, and consequently you will be at liberty to ask what Questions you please, which no Body else can pretend to ; I return'd the same Objections, which the Earl endeavour'd to obviate, by telling me, that I had wrong Notions of Honour, for what could be dearer to one, than his Religion and Country, both which were in imminent Danger, if the *Jacobites* and *France*, succeeded in their Attempts: I replied, That to dye for my Country or Religion carried Honour, and consequently its Reward along with it ; but to deceive any Man or Party, would bring with it a stigma upon my Name and Family to which I hoped his Lordship had a little regard, finding me in this Difficulty, he bid me go home, and sleep a Night upon it, and hoped next Morning to find me in a better Humour, pray, says he, let us see you then.

I retired, revolving with myself, what was proper to be done, and what the Consequences might

might be; and tho I endeavoured to shun all Company, my two *Jacobite* Friends, above-mentioned, entred my Chamber, whom I received with some Surprise, but at last, assisted by the Earl of R——'s Advice, I told them, that I had been very Serious on what had passed betwixt them and me, ever since I saw them, and would be ingenious and free with them, on what I had resolved, since the Lives and Fortunes of many, might perhaps be involved in it.

FIRST then, I let them know, that I was a strict *Presbyterian*, an Enemy to *Popery*, *Slavery*, and Arbitrary Power, but had no Affection to the Union, as being destructive to the Honour and Interest of *Scotland*: But, if they could persuade me, that the *Protestant* Religion, and my Country's Good, would be upon a securer, and more advantageous footing by a Revolution, in favour of the *Pretender*, than under the present Establishment, and an Union, I should be glad to join in what probable Measures they should lay down; else, I could not on any Consideration whatsoever, favour such a Design.

SECONDLY, I told them my Family would be ruined if I engaged in that Project, and therefore, it was necessary I should have an equivalent secured, if we failed in the Attempt.

AND Thirdly, tho they should satisfy me, as to these two Objections, it would signify nothing, if the *Cameronians* were not also brought in, that in Honour and Conscience I durst not offer to make any such attempt unless I could perfectly

all exactly satisfy them, that the Design was founded upon a probability of Success, which in the mean time, I was not convinced of my self, but for that end, I desired them to let me know particularly, what assistance was expected from Abroad, and who was to join them at Home.

I started my first Objection, as a back Door to slip out at, when an Opportunity offered, but upon any trifling Pretence to desert them, the Second, to know if they were Serious, and the Third, that I might get into the perfect understanding of the whole Scheme..

THEY answered, That they had no present Orders to satisfy me, but hoped to do it in three or four Weeks, promising to lose no Time.

So soon as they left me, I went to the Earl of R-----, and told him what had passed, which pleased him so much, that he applauded my conduct, and his being upon the Wing for London, a Cypher was contrived whereby to carry on our Correspondence.

AND so I wished the Duke, and the rest of the Great Men a good Journey; but was a little embarrassed how to carry betwixt the Duke and the *Squadron*, for tho' they agreed in the main Point against the *Pretender*, yet they had no kindness for one another, each of them having desired me several times, to drop the other, but the personal Respect I had to the Earl of R—, preponderated a little to that Side, tho the sweet easy Temper of the Duke of *Queensberry*, which was very obliging,

ing, and especially, his hearty Inclinations to the *Hanover* Succession, made me resolve to carry the Ballance as even betwixt them as I could, and gratifie them both.

BUT in Justice to the good Duke of *Queensberry's* Memory, the Reader must know, that tho' he was acting evidently in Favour of *England*, I was perswaded of his Affection to his own Country notwithstanding, for in *February 1706-7*, His Grace and I privately disputed, why the *Scots* were so generally averse to the Union; which we attributed chiefly to the Fears which the most Judicious among us had of *England's* Honour and Fidelity in their observing the Articles agreed to, bad tho' they were, for being the Majority, it was always in their Power to put what Sense upon them they thought fit; which, tho' the Duke could not deny, He flattered himself, that the *English* would Act quite otherwise after the Union: For, *said he*, Now they must reckon us a part of themselves, else the Union will be of no Use to them, if they do not endeavour to gain our Affections, and so to conquer us by theirs; for they know very well, that they could never conquer us any other way, and so, for their own sakes, they will rather make the Union better for us than worse. It seems the Duke was very much flattered with this Argument by the *English*, which made him undertake it so very heartily; for, he declared, that if he had thought it possible to save his Country, and secure the Protestant Religion and Interest (which he believed was the only Means to prevent his Country's Ruin) any other way than by an Union, he had not imbark'd in it with so much Zeal.

I must do him the Justice to declare, he represented all my good Services to the Queen, according to his Promise; even, tho' I had in a manner deserted him, and gone over into all the Measures of the *Squadron*, and that Party; so that I had no Reason to doubt his Sincerity, for he always stood my fast Friend, being a Religious Observer of his Word, when others, of whom I deserved better, Deserted me.

THE Duke, and the other great Men, went to *London*, and I retired to *Kersland*, to breathe some honest Air in the Country, which might have had a very good Effect; but for the Bug-bear of *Papery*, which still troubled my Head, and prevailed against all the Suggestions of Honour and Interest, Country-Air, and every Thing.

I stayed in the Country a Fortnight, and in that time, an Express came from one of my *Jacobite* Friends, telling me, That they were ready to treat with me upon the grand Affair.

ACCORDINGLY we met at *Edinburgh*, in *May* 1707, and they produced their Instructions from *St. Germain's*, to satisfy me in every Thing, with Assurance, that nothing should be wanting to secure the Protestant Religion; that I should have an equivalent for my Estate: And to shew what Confidence they reposed in me, they answered every Question according to my Mind, and, in short, let me in to the whole Affair.

FIRST,

FIRST, We disputed what number of Troops was Necessary to be sent to *Scotland*. Secondly, What Arms and Officers were wanting. And, Thirdly, What was proper to be mentioned in the *Pretender's* Manifesto, concerning Religion.

WE differed in our Opinions; but at last resolved (for they acquiesced in every Thing I said) that 5000 Men was enough to be detached from *France*, and that the Manifesto should declare against the Union, since it was from the universal hatred at it, we had any Hopes to bring in so many of the Revolution Party to the *Pretender's* Interest, that he should declare he was at present a *Papist*; but would chearfully give ear to Protestant Divines, and if they could convince him of an Errour from the Word of God, he would be glad to embrace the Religion of his People: For if he declared himself any thing else, his Sincerity would be suspected, and the truth of every thing he said; upon which they answered, they would take Care to make a faithful Report to the proper Persons.

I acquainted the Duke of *Queensberry* with what had passed, and in *June* 1707, sent his Grace a Copy of the Cypher agreed to between the *Scots* and *French* Agents, writ by one of the *French* Agents, who was a Man publicly known, at the same time, desiring him to let the *English* Ministry know the Danger the present Constitution was in.

UPON these my good Services, as they were called, I was flattered with abundance of Congratulations from several great Men, particularly from

from a special Friend of *Queensberry's*, with the Duke's Protestations of leaving nothing undone, to strengthen my Hands in the good Work; and assuring me, that the Queen was very sensible of my great Services, which She would take care to reward accordingly, and truly, I dare say, I was rewarded just as I deserved.

THE Privy-Seal I mentioned before, never came to my Hands till now, that Mr. *Baylie*, of *Ferviswood*, late one of the Lords of the Treasury sent it me, whereof the true Copy is as follows.

ANNE R.

WHEREAS, we are fully sensible of the Fidelity and Loyalty of *John Ker*, of *Kersland* Esq; and of the Services he hath performed to us and our Government: We therefore grant him this our Royal Leave and Licence, to keep Company and Associate himself, with such, as are disaffected to us and our Government; in such Way or Manner, as he shall judge most for our Service. Given under our Royal Hand, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 7th of *July* 1707, and of our Reign the 6th Year.

NOTWITHSTANDING this mighty Applause and Approbation, the little Honour and Conscience I had left, had certainly perswaded me to abandon

abandon such wicked Courses, and drop the Court Interest for ever; had not a *Presbyterian* Parson, a Man of great Learning and seeming Piety, confirmed me in them, he was a *Casulist* of the Court-Stamp, which made both my Conscience and Honour give way, and so was engaged more than ever, in the Prosecution of such unhappy Contrivances, as was afterwards put in Execution.

I had a very difficult Game to Play, and many Things to do, of so tender a Nature, that they were to be very delicately touched, and the rather, that I had no Body I could trust to go along with me; sometimes I asked Advice of Mr. *Cockburn*, the Lord Chief Justice's Clerk, and Mr. *Baylie*, &c. but they being often out of the way, I was forced to take a great deal upon my self.

I employed Spies and Agents over all the Country, to inform me of every thing that passed among the *Jacobites*, at their Clubs and private Meetings, whereby I was not only capable to judge of the *French* Agents Sincerity with me, but even to counter-act and disappoint the *Jacobites* at any time.

But being obliged to persuade those *St. German* Agents of my Interest with the *Cameronians*, and that I meant, Sincerely, to bring them into the *Pretender's* Interest, the better to deceive them; I suffered them, not only to proceed in their own Way, but even contributed to their Assistance, still keeping it in my Power, to undo what I had done when I pleased; whereby I got to the bottom of all

all their Plots and Designs, and to the Knowledge of every body concerned therein; whose Names, how vile a part soever I acted my self, yet nothing could ever persuade me to divulge, but to one Person, upon Promise of Secrecy, which I thought myself pretty sure of; most of the *Jacobites* of any Note, being his own Relations, and so he had more Reason to Conceal them than I. But I had so much Confidence in him, that I left my Privy Seal in his Custody, upon which both my Life and Fortune did then depend.

I insist upon this Point the more, having been blamed as the Cause of the *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemens coming up to *London*, by an Order of the Government, in 1708, after the flight of the *Pratender*, which I declare, before God, I had no Hand in.

In *July*, 1707, there was a Plot to Surprize the Castle of *Edinburgh*; there being in it, at that time, 400000*l.* called the Equivalent Money, and the rest of the Current Coin in the Kingdom was called in, in order to be recoined.

This Plot was to be put in Execution by a certain Gentleman, who was a very bold enterprising Person, and had appointed with 20 or 30 of his Accomplices, to appear upon the Castle-Hill such a Day at Noon; it being always full of Company every Day at that Time, with Swords and Private Arms, and so to scatter themselves among the Crowd, as nigh the Draw-bridge as they could; which this Gentleman was to enter, and

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enquire

enquire for a Friend in the Castle, who, so soon as Orders should be given to open the Gate, which is never denied to any Gentleman, was to Pistol the Centinel, as a Signal to his Men to follow him, and secure the Bridge; and an hundred Men more, who were to be lodged in a Cellar on the Castle-Hill, were also, upon this Signal, to make the best of their way in order to secure all at once.

When this Plot was upon the Point of Execution, the Secret was recommended to my Approbation, by the very Gentleman who had undertaken it; he told me likewise, that he had surveyed the Castle, and found it destitute both of Soldiers and Ammunition, there being but thirty-five effective Men in it, some of whom he had already Debauched.

This Resolution surprized me not a little, and the rather because it was like to Succeed, and that very speedily: The Castle of *Edinburgh* being at any time of vast Importance; but especially then, when such a great Sum was in it, and must have fallen into the Hands of our Enemies, which it was scarce possible to prevent, there being none of the Government at that time, in Town for me to apply to; and, besides, I had Orders to Communicate no Secrets to any in *Scotland*, but the Lord Justice Clerk, who then lay very Sick in the Country; and other two Persons, who happened then to be at *London*.

Whereupon, I told the Gentleman, That tho the Possession of the Castle was of great Consequence,

sequence, yet to seize it at that Time, would Ruin all, by alarming *England*; who would, thereupon, equip a Fleet to prevent the *Pretender's* coming; and said, it would do better to defer it till he was ready to Embark: Farther, such a Discovery, instead of bringing any bad Consequence along with it, would rather, if rightly timed, be a discouraging Blow to the Government: Whereas, at that present time, it would awaken the *English*, and give them an Opportunity to break all our Measures; and that we could suffer nothing by deferring it till a more proper Time, since we might always have the same Opportunity at Hand; to which the Gentleman agreed, and so it was delayed.

With all these Proceedings, I immediatly acquainted the Lord *Hightreasurer*, and the Duke of *Queensberry*; and begg'd them to put the Kingdom and Castle in better Defence: But finding no Care taken of either, I took Leave of my *Jacobite* Friends; and instead of going into the Country, as I pretended, I posted to *London*, from thence I went to *Windsor*, with my Credentials along with me to my Lord Treasurer, where I found him at the Dutchess of *Marlborough's*, I sent a Letter to his Lordship, who came out immediately and carried me along with him to his House, where, I laid before him all that had happened lately in *Scotland*, which convinced him, that there was an Invasion from *France* intended; and so, after abundance of Civilities, he ordered me to Post back to *Scotland*, and said, he would take Care to Disappoint the Enemies Designs.

I obeyed his Orders, and was in *Edinburgh* sooner than a Letter, wrote by a *Scots Jacobite* in *London*, to his Friend at *Edinburgh*, which told him, that he saw me come out of a certain House in *St. James's Square* the very Day he writ it; but upon my arrival, I went to the Dutchess of *Gordon's*, where I met some of the *Pretender's* Agents, this prevented their giving any Credit to that Letter, which came not to their Hands till the next Morning: However, it served to make them Jealous of me, for they told me at the next Meeting, that they had seen a Letter, which assured them that I had been lately in *London*.

I told them, that tho' it was needless to Contradict them, if they believed it, whether it was true or false, yet they might easily see they were imposed on, by the time which they knew was so very little from my leaving of *Edinburgh* till I return'd; and their believing any Stories, would produce no other Effect, than to create such Misunderstandings betwixt us, as must effectually disappoint our Intentions; and then they said, they believed I was injured; but to Convince every Body of my Sincerity, they desired me to persuade the *Cameronians* to make a publick Appearance against the Government, which would be of great Moment to the *Pretender's* Interest, and encourage the *French King* to send over the Forces to assist him, which he had resolved on before; for then he needed not doubt of Success, if the *Cameronians* came heartily into the Cause, as knowing they were a brave People, and their Fidelity might be depended on.

This Proposal perplexed me, but considering it was of the last Consequence, to keep on the Mask as long as I could, I convened that Party of the *Cameronians* which followed Mr. *Mac Millan*, one of their Preachers, at *Sanquebar*, and at the *Market Cross*, made publick Declaration against the Queen, That she had forfeited her Right to the Crown, by imposing the Union upon us ; and therefore disowned her Authority and Government, declaring it unlawful to pay Taxes, or Obey her, or any that pretended to any manner of Authority under her.

Tho this Declaration did not mention the *Pretender* expressly, yet it was couched so, as to make the *Jacobites* hope, that the *Cameronians* might be soon reconciled to that Interest. They fixed it to the *Cross* when they had done, and it was afterwards, when the *Cameronians* were dispersed, dispatched Express to *Edinburgh*.

The Lord Justice *Clerk*, who was then prime Minister in *Scotland*, writ to me, with heavy Complaints of this Insolence, whom I answered, That it was Necessary, in order to renew the Confidence, which I thought was proper the *Jacobites* should repose in the *Cameronians*, and to confirm my Credit with them, which I thought was declining.

Some time afterwards, I found some cunning *Jacobites* took abundance of Pains to reconcile the several Parties, whose different Principles and Opinions, had all along prevented the *Scots* in general from an unanimous Resolution, either to

disappoint the Union, or dissolve it, since it had been put upon them : For this end, they persuaded some *Presbyterian* Ministers to adjust their Differences with the *Cameronians*. Whereupon, I was involved in new Difficulties, for seeing what this would amount to, I must confess, That I was forced to Act a very Unacceptable Part ; for tho' I am as desirous of an universal Harmony as any Man, I studied to throw all the Obstacles I could in their way, in order to prevent such a Reconciliation, which I knew, would at that time effectually answer the Enemy's Intention, and overturn the Union, and every Thing else.

My Endeavours answered my Design, for I did some particular Services to the Government at that time, which would be too tedious here to mention.

But notwithstanding my frequent Messages, and sedulous Application to the Court, to put the Nation in a better Defence, no care was either taken, as to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, or to prevent the threatned Invasion, from all which I could scarce forbear censuring the Treasurer and the whole Ministry, as being in the Plot.

Whereupon I went to *London*, in *February*, 1707-8, and just as the News came to Court, that the *Pretender* embarked at *Dunkirk*, my Jealousy of *Godolphin* increased, especially when a certain great Man told me, that he, and all the rest of the *Whig* Lords, suspected him, having taken no care to secure *Scotland*, &c. And consequently, he believed it was ruined, being at that time

time indeed, in very defenceless Circumstances, for there was not above 1500 regular Troops in the Nation, and all the Castles and Forts unprovided.

However, I went to the Treasurer, who received me with a grimace of Esteem, and commended my Diligence, telling me, he was informed that the *French* were embarking at *Dunkirk*, and therefore it was proper I should return to *Scotland*, and he would take care to send Forces, and all other Necessaries speedily after me, and then showed me a List of the Men of War, that were preparing with all Expedition, to block up *Dunkirk*, and prevent the *French* landing.

I answered, I was afraid that their Landing could scarce be prevented, for their Ships were all light Frigates, and Privateers, and well cleaned, and so would out-sail ours, which I was told was very foul, and so begged him not think to prevent their landing; but rather prepare to give them a warm Reception when landed; he desired me to make all haste for *Scotland*, and promised to send me his Directions from time to time, as the Circumstances required.

I told him, that to go to *Scotland*, whilst it was unprovided, would be of no Service, either to it, or the Government; and if I offered to throw off the Mask, without a Protection, I deserved to have my Throat cut; and so begged to be excused, at least, till his Lordship was pleased to let me know, what Part I was to Act for my own, and my Country's Defence; he asked what

it was I proposed to do, I answered, that upon the *Pretender's* landing, I would persuade the *Cameronians* to draw together, and Declare against the *Pretender*: Threatning Mischief to all that joined him, and contrive the Manifesto in such Terms, as none of the *Presbyterians* should appear for him; which would be such a mortifying Disappointment to the *Jacobites*, that even they durst not offer to appear; but, said he, If you take Arms against the *Pretender*, before the Troops from *England* arrive, you will be cut to Pieces, being in no Condition to oppose such numerous Forces as will come with him: I replied, That it was absolutely necessary to make an appearance against him upon his landing, otherwise a great many good disposed People, might be insnared into his Interest, and join him out of perfect spite at the Union, but if a Body of well affected People, exerted themselves in such a manner, giving their proper Reasons for it in their Declaration, I would engage by such Means to prevent the *Presbyterians* joining him, and doubted not to be able to keep the Mountains, in spite of all the *French* and *Jacobites* that should offer to disturb us, till such time as Succours arrived.

He desired me to go down, and do as I thought fit, and then I told him, it would be necessary to send down Money to buy Ammunition, and defray some Arrears of Pay, that was due to some of the *Cameronian* Officers, since they had been in *Flanders* the last War, that it was but a Trifle, and it would both encourage them, and make my Work light; and I doubted not, upon such Conditions, that I was capable upon the Head of the

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Cameronians, to perform more, than he could imagine at that time, which he might assure the Queen of, and that She had not misplaced her Confidence in me.

My Lord still insisted upon my hasting for *Scotland*, and promised to send the Money after me, to be laid out as I proposed, but it never came, tho' I must confess, he gave me Money generously enough, for my own private Occasions; as I offered to withdraw, he came nearer, and told me, that I needed not Write to any Person, for it would be better to Correspond only with himself, since whatever I Wrote must come before him, and promised, if I would sincerely attach my self to him, to be my Friend, and do every thing for me I desired: he look'd very serious, and said farther, that I might depend upon it, he would make good what he said; to all which I returned a Compliment, being resolved to live and dye with the *Squadron*, and the rest of the *Whigs*; but how well they deserved this Resolution at my Hands, will appear hereafter.

The Treasurer ask'd how he should direct to me, I told him, To Mr. *John Hourat*, to the care of *Alexander Arbutnot*, Merchant in *Edinburgh*. He conducted me to the Door and wished me a good Journey, and said, he thought it proper to have a Pass, and a Post Warrant, which he ordered for me immediately.

I went instantly to a certain Duke and told him all that past, then, said he, the Treasurer is certainly in the *Pretender's* Interest, which gave him

him such dismal Apprehensions, that he expected nothing but Ruin: this he hoped I would prevent, by seizing some of the principal *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, which was easy to do, when every thing was in Confusion there, for by having them in Custody, it would be in my Power, in case of the worst, to make Terms for some of my Friends; he promised to get some of the *Whig* Lords to make the Treasurer mind his Promise, to send down the Money for the Purposes I proposed, and so we parted.

Next I went to the House of Lords, to find the Duke of *Queensberry*, who immediately came to the Door, and took me into a side Room; he ask'd me if I had any late Accounts from *Scotland*. Nothing of Moment, *said I*, but was come to receive his Grace's Commands thither, having taken leave of the Treasurer; *he said*, he wished he had known it sooner, that he might have persuaded him to do what was Necessary; the Duke ask'd me what I would have him to do, promising to be wanting in nothing that was in his Power to contribute to the Preservation of his Country, which must be ruin'd if the *Pretender* succeeded: For his Part, *he said*, he knew what he had to expect, his Estate being intended to be given to the Lord *Middleton*. I told him, that the chief Point in *Scotland*, was to prevent the *Presbyterians*, and *Cameronians*, from joining the *Jacobites*, since their natural Aversion to the Union might probably incline them that way; I promised to do the best I could in every thing, and so we parted.

I went to the Post-House, and so to *Scotland* just as the Pretender appear'd on that Coast, whereupon I assembled the leading Men of the *Cameronians*, at *Sanquebar*, and spoke to them as follows.

My Friends, no doubt it will be hard for you to reconcile the different Turns I have made, in my late Conduct, which I assure you proceeds not from any want of due Respect and Confidence in you; but, as both my Education and Conversation, hath furnish'd me with various Opportunities to know, and get to the bottom of many Things, which lie perfectly out of your way; so I never intended any thing but your real Good and Advantage, having employed all these Opportunities for that end, and must really tell you, that I have watched for your Safety.

I thought it proper to conceal my Reasons, for some mysterious Steps we made, because, I could not otherwise form a Judgment, what might be our Duty and Interest in these Perilous Times; but be assured, you shall reap the Benefit, and good Consequences of my Labour and Industry, to which, you have a just Title upon many Accounts.

Had I told you every thing as it happened, and my Intentions thereupon, I should not have perswaded you to Act some Parts you have done; for every Man, is not equal to every Thing, nor capable to bear a Part in delicate Affairs, wherein many Judicious Persons have been employed, with Views quite different, from either yours or
mine :

mine : I come now to open my Breast, and let you know, that my aversion to the Union, hath made me perhaps go too far in some Measures, which I fear is not altogether for the Interest of our Country, and must tell you now, that I can find no Security for the *Protestant* Religion, from the *Pretender's* Success, but rather, inevitable Destruction ; he is now upon our Coasts aboard a *French* Fleet, with an Army of *French* and *Irish* *Papists*, who have murder'd so many of our Brethren in *France*, (the Melancholy Account whereof, I here present you in this Book.) And, he is so bigotted to the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, that there is no Hopes now of perswading him to renounce his Opinion, even tho' he should Succeed, as I once had Faith that he might have been prevailed withal, from his pretended Father's Misfortunes, but, alas! my Hopes are all vanished, for I know such Proposals have been lately made to him, by some of our Countrymen, but he hath rejected them all.

My Friends, you know it is against the Word of God, to have any manner of Communication with God's Enemies, and Idolaters; you may remember how the Prophet rebuked *Jehosaphat*, for such a Crime, as *Chronicles* mention ; you know too that it is a Maxim with us, and all good People, not to do Evil, that Good may come of it ; but rather let us wait God's own time to deliver us from the Union, and our Oppressors, which he will surely do, and much more for us, if we prefer his Interest to our own.

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Let us all then, as true Protestants, good Christians, and brave *Scotsmen*, commit our Cause, and that of our bleeding Country, to God, and oppose the Enemies of his Truth, with our Swords in our Hands, and an undaunted Resolution, to Seal with our Blood, that Testimony, which so many of our Friends and noble Progenitors, have already Sealed, both on Scaffolds, and in the Fields: For my part, I shall reckon it my greatest Honour to join with you in Life and Death, in the defence of such a glorious Cause; for which the Family I represent, have suffered so much, and for which, my Predecessors have so freely ventured, and abandoned both their Lives and Fortunes.

I pressed this with abundance of Zeal, and desired them seriously to peruse the Book above-mentioned, which a Person of Quality had given me for that end, when I was last at *London*; but was informed afterwards, that it was put upon us by the late infamous Assassine *Guiscard*, in order to possess the People of *Great-Britain* with Horror and Revenge against *France*, because of the then approaching Peace, which the *Whigs* foresaw, would be very prejudicial to the Nation.

The Reader must know, that from the Confidence the *Cameronians* reposed in me, they laid aside their Resentments against the Union for some time, and agreed to my Proposal, which was to Declare against the *Pretender*, and all that joined him, as Enemies; for which the necessary Dispositions were made, and a little while afterwards, the following Letter came to my Hands from a Person of Quality then at *London*.

Sir,

Sir, You have heard by this time, that the *Pretender* sailed from *Dunkirk* with the *French* Fleet, and Sir *George Bing* is in pursuit of him; One would think now; that the Treasurer is in Earnest, as I am sure the *Whig* Lords are: The Lord Justice *Clerk* hath Orders, by his Post, to give you the Money you desired; pray make the *Cameronian* Officers sensible, that my Lord *Somers* has, in a manner, forced it from the Treasurer; I have no doubt but you will be able now, to exert your self; Let me hear often from you, &c. *London, March 20, 1707-8.*

Upon receipt of this Letter, I went to *Edinburgh*, and told the Lord Justice *Clerk* of it, who immediately produced another from the Lord Treasurer, mentioning, that the Lord *Somers* had prevailed with him to send the inclosed, which, he said, was an Order for Money, which was to be given to the *Cameronians* in payment of their Arrears. But upon perusal, we found it to be only an humble Request, That the Lord Justice *Clerk* would please to pay several Officers under my Direction, their respective just Demands; and he would endeavour to perswade the Queen to allow it; but surely no body would advance a Farthing on such New-fashioned Orders: And so I posted back to the *Cameronians*, with fair Promises only, which they could not be very well pleased with; but continued resolute to oppose the *Pretender* notwithstanding.

The *French* Fleet, as I had foretold the Treasurer, outailed ours; and when they came upon the Coast of *Scotland*, they gave a Signal to *Dunotter* Castle,

Castle, which was the Place appointed for that end; but the Signal not being answered by the late Earl *Marshall*, who was ordered there for that Purpose, they sailed strait to the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, where they Anchored in *March*, 1707-8, upon *Thursday* Evening, when there was not four Rounds in the Castle; nor did the whole Garrison, at that time, consist of Forty effective Men, as I told you before: nor came there any Ammunition to it till the next *Saturday*, from *Berwick*. So that if the *Pretender* had landed, it must certainly have fallen into his Hands, if Sir *George Bing* had not come the same Night so near the Enemy, that he discovered them by his Advice-Boat; whereupon he gave a Signal to our Fleet, to come and Anchor there; which so alarmed the *French*, that they immediately cut their Cables, and got out to Sea: Next Morning our Fleet pursued, and took the *Salisbury* Man of War, only the Enemy bore to the *Northward*, and our Fleet, instead of pursuing them, or guarding the Coast, returned to the *Firth*, where they Anchored, leaving all the *Northern* Coasts bare and defenceless; for the *French* Fleet, not long afterwards, came into the *Firth* of *Murray*, and the *Pretender* desired the *French* Admiral, called *Fourbin*, to land the Troops there, which he refused; then he begged that his own national Troops, *Scots* and *Irish* might be landed, for he had four *Irish* Regiments aboard, as good as any in *Europe*, but *Fourbin* told him he had positive Orders to the contrary.

Some alledged, *Fourbin* would not comply with the *Pretender's* Request, because his Signal was

was not answered from *Dunoter Castle*; others, because the Chief *Jacobites* were taken into Custody some few days before, and the *Cameronians* had disappointed them; which irreparably broke all their Measures; others again believed with me, that the King of *France* never valued the *Pretender*, farther, than to make a Tool of him, in order to perplex *Great Britain*, and their Affairs; tho' I believe, at the same time, that if he had landed only with his *Valet de Chambre*, he could never have had a better Opportunity to gain his Point from that time to this.

But the *French Fleet* went Home, and a great many People of Quality, and Distinction in *Scotland*, were secured, and ordered for *London*, where they were confined in the *Tower* for a little Time, but were bailed out by the *Whigs*, and so returned to *Scotland* in good time, to influence the Elections for the next Parliament, in opposition to *Quensberry* and the Treasurer; but whether the *Whigs* or they changed Sides, I leave to the Annals of those Times.

About this time there was a Letter wrote to me from *London*, by a Person of Quality, desiring me to procure an Address from the *Cameronians*, to the Queen, representing their Fears of *Popery*, &c. And therefore praying to call over the *Protestant Successor*.

I was very ready to oblige him in any thing that regarded the *Protestant Succession*, but being afraid it might be made use of for some other end than was proposed, I declined, troubling the
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Cameronians about it, after which I had another Letter, pressing me with the greatest of earnestness to procure the foresaid Address: Saying, it would be of vast Consequence to secure the *Protestant* Succession, and a great Honour to myself and the *Cameronians*, to be the first that should address her Majesty upon that Account, assuring me in the said Letter, that this Address would quickly be follow'd by a great many others to the same Purpose, and they should soon be payed their Arrears, he prevailed; and so the Address was drawn up accordingly, but with a peculiar Stile, which was Signed by a great many, and sent to him, who received it with many Congratulations, and shewed it to his Friends, the *Whig* Lords at *London*, who were all so mightily pleased therewith, that I had abundance of Acknowledgments thereupon in many Letters, as a Matter of the last Consequence: for an Address, said they, from such a Body of well disciplin'd Men, would not only strike an Awe into the Enemies of the illustrious House, but would likewise be an Example to the rest of the Nation. They desired me, likewise, to assure my Friends, that it was now in the *Whig* Lords power to oblige the Treasurer to do what they pleased, and consequently we might expect our Money very shortly, tho' not a Farthing ever yet came.

Tho' this Address was never presented, I believe it had the same Success they desired, for it so frightened the Treasurer, that some of the leading *Whigs* were put into eminent Posts thereby. *Wharton* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Sommers* President of the Council, &c. and then the *Cameronian* Officers thought it was their Turn

to be served, since, by their Means, the *Whig* Lords had their Inclinations so much gratified: But, notwithstanding all the fine Compliments and united Promises of the Duke, and the rest of the *Whig* Lords, instead of any Reward for the vast Expence I had been at upon their Account, the following Letter from a great Man in the *Whigs* Interest, was delivered to me by one of the Commissioners of the Excise.

Sir, I had yours last Post, and am heartily sorry for your Indisposition, from which I earnestly wish you a Recovery: I am oblig'd to acquaint you, that I must break off all further Correspondence with you; the Gentleman who delivers this to you, will let you know the Reasons; but I declare this does not proceed from any want of Sense of my Obligations to you, which I will never forget; nor have I any Grounds to doubt of your Fidelity and Friendship to me; nor shall I ever omit any Opportunity of serving you, when in my Power: I am, Sir, your humble and obliged Servant.
London, 5 Novemb. 1708.

I need not tell my Reader how much I was surprized, but must heartily agree with him, that I deserved no better; tho', I hope, he will agree with me too, that I deserved no such treatment from such as I had sacrificed every Thing for, that ought to be dear to a Gentleman; but I have the Proverb on my side, *Courtiers seldom keep their Words*: A mighty Comfort! and so I'll drop them at present, as they have done me.

In *January, 1708*, the Parliament went upon the State of the Kingdom, when the late Invasion happened; upon which the Lord *Haver-*

sham made a very warm Speech, and the Accompts being laid before the House, it appeared that *Scotland* had been destitute of all Means of Defence till a trifling Supply arrived from *Berwick*, as I said before, and that was almost too late: For which the Ministry made no other Excuse, but that the *Pretender's* Attempts had been managed so privately, that they could not be known; but the Lord *Haversham* knowing the contrary, that I had told the Lord Treasurer of all the particular Steps the Enemy had taken near a Year before any Thing was put in Execution: His Lordship employed the late Doctor *Hutton*, a very good Friend of mine, to write to me, to hasten up to *London*, and bring my Papers with all speed, that I might do Justice both to my Country, and to myself.

The Lord *Haversham* moved so much in this Affair, that the Lord Treasurer, and his Friends who laboured to Skreen him, were apprehensive of the Consequences, if the Parliament was made sensible, that he had timely Notice of the *Pretender's* intended Invasion on *Scotland*; upon which, it was resolved to give me new Work in that Country, in order to detain me there till the Opportunity was lost, and the Treasurer's Conduct should be justified before the Parliament; and accordingly a Letter came to my Hand from a certain great Man in the *Whig* Interest, desiring to renew the Correspondence that had formerly been betwixt him and me, having forgot that he had desired in a former Letter to drop it, which in this last, he pretended to excuse, desiring me to do some new Services in *Scotland*, which I suffered myself to be prevailed upon to agree to; and by this Means

I was detained in that Country till the Opportunity was lost, for I knew nothing of the Lord *Haversham's* Intention; Doctor *Hutton's* Letter having miscarried, never coming to my Hand: Wherefore, it not appearing to the Parliament, that the Lord Treasurer and Ministry, had any previous Advertisement of the Enemies Proceedings, they were acquitted before I came to *London*, which was about the latter end of *March*, 1709.

The Lord Treasurer, upon my Arrival, payed all Accompts due to myself; but to my Sorrow, could never prevail in the Matter of the *Cameronian* Arrears, notwithstanding all that the good Duke of *Queensberry*, &c. could do, who did every thing in his Power to serve and oblige me, and used his Argument very often with the Treasurer for that end, and which I cannot in Honour and Gratitude to his Noble Memory forget gratefully to mention; he generously, always, remembering my good Services, and as generously forgetting the several Disobligations I had given him, in taking a Part with the *Squadron*, &c. tho' much to his Prejudice.

Next *May*, the following Letter from some of the *Cameronian* Officers, in behalf of the whole, came to my Hand.

Honoured Sir, You may remember when the *Pretender* was upon our Coasts, what Promises you was pleased to make us in the Name of *England*, and, indeed, we shall never impute Non-Performance of them to any Neglect or Fault in you,

you, but only to those concerned in the Government; you was Witness to our Zeal then, and our readiness to oppose the *Pretender*, had he landed: Be pleased to let us know if we are to expect the payment of our Arrears, or not.

England, who hath no Opportunity to know any thing of us, may probably despise us; but it is well known, that under the Conduct of your worthy Predecessors, we durst look our Enemies in the Face, and defend ourselves in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*: But what can be expected from People thus abused, if the *Pretender* ever makes another Attempt? However, Sir, whether you Succeed in your Endeavours for us, or not, we shall always have an Esteem and Affection for you; and a due Regard to the worthy Family you have the Honour to represent. We add no more, but commit you to God's Blessing and Keeping, and remain with all Sincerity and Respect, in our own, and our Friends Names,
Your most Humble Servants,

Penpontb,
15 May, 1709.

Harris, Matthewson,
Gilchrist, Howartson,
Hutcheson, Campbell.

This Letter made me stay in *London* to negotiate their Arrears, and that made the Difference betwixt a certain great Man and me; for a change of the Ministry happening soon afterwards, the Treasurer and his Friends were very anxious to have me out of Town; because I knew abundance of Things they were willing to conceal: I mention this, because some *Whigs* took Occasion

to believe that I changed Sides, having the Honour to converse sometimes with Mr. *H.* afterward *E. of Oxford.*

I shall give a short Account of this Matter, as follows :

The Lord *Haversham*, for whom I had a particular Regard, being acquainted with my Father, and his Family in their Exile at *Utrecht*, gave me such Assurance of his sincere Attachment to the *Hanover* Interest, as perfectly satisfied me : He pressed me to visit Mr. *Harley*, and told me I was mistaken to believe the House of *Hanover* to have no Friends in *England*, but the late Ministry, to whom he never was a Friend, and yet none was more sincere in the Interest of the illustrious House : That he doubted not, but the Succession would be as sure under the new Ministry, as the late ; and Dr. *Hutton*, whom I likewise knew to be firm in that Interest, told me if I conversed with Mr. *Harley*, all my Fears of any Dangers would be removed.

Whereupon I went to Mr. *Harley*, who received me very civilly, and indeed, convinced me of his sincere Affection to the *Hanover* Interest at that time ; with his Assurances of doing me all the good Offices he could, which gave me afterwards an Opportunity to lay before him the Case of the late Garrisons of *London-Derry*, and *Inniskilling*, who had some Debts due to them ever since the noble Defence they made against King *James*, Anno. 1689, which the late Ministry never minded.

I endeavour'd to persuade him, that his Assisting those poor People in Parliament, would be such an Evidence of his Affection to the Revolution Interest, as must stop every body's mouth who thought otherwise: Since it was well known that *England* reaped the Benefit of the Revolution from the Defence they made; whereby King *James* was prevented from going to *Scotland*, where the Lord *Dundee* was then actually in Arms for him: Which, if he had done, he might have easily joined the Disaffected there, and entered *England* with such an Army, as must, very probably, have overturned the Revolution, with all its Consequences, as Matters then stood, both at Home and Abroad.

Mr. *Harley* allowed their Demands to be very just, and promised to abett their Interest in Parliament, whenever they applied to him.

I believed the Payment of this Debt would be of great Service to the House of *Hanover*; because it would encourage others to venture for that Interest, when they saw that People rewarded; and so made it my Business to persuade the Gentleman who had the Management of that Affair, which had been depending for so many Years, to apply to Mr. *Harley*, and the Parliament.

I only mention this Affair (which came to nothing, though there was abundance of Application made) to shew my Reasons for attending Mr. *Harley* so very often, so long as this Affair, and the *Cameronians* Arrears was in Agitation.

And I protest solemnly, that I had no other End in this Matter, than to engage those People in the *Hanover* Interest, which I always intended as the Consequence of all my Endeavours ; for I had neither Promise, nor the least Expectation of a Reward, or Bribe, as the Gentlemen who had the Management of it, are ready to justify.

Mr. *Harley* likewise told me, the Parliament resolved to call me before them, to give Account of what I knew of the intended Invasion ; and particularly, of what Informations I gave thereof to the late Treasurer, which, no doubt, was designed to render him, and the late *Whig* Ministry Odious ; and I had but too much Resentment to prompt me to it, had it not been that I knew not how far it might affect the *Hanover* Succession, which was always my Idol ; and not daring to trust to my own Judgment, in such an important Affair, where I was to be active myself, I determin'd to take Advice of such whose Affections to their Country, and the *Protestant* Interest, were above private Views, or Party Concerns. And having conceived such an Opinion of the publick Spirit, great Worth and Integrity of Sir *Peter King*, tho' I had not the Honour of his Acquaintance, I resolved to pitch upon his Counsel, as the best I could think of, and sent Mr. *Soamms* to him, to desire his Opinion thereupon, who returned with Sir *Peter's* Advice, That I should appear when called, and declare plainly every Thing I knew, before the Parliament ; for *said he*, if the Lord *Godolphin* has been wanting in his Duty, it is but reasonable he should be exposed, which could not interfere with, but rather pro-

promote the Interest of the House of *Hanover*; he likewise desired me, to let some of the *Whig* Members I could trust, know what Questions were proper to be asked, when I was called upon this Affair, in order to let them into the perfect understanding of the whole, whereby that Mystery might be brought to light, perhaps, in quite another Manner than the Court designed; for the exposing of some Members, in both Houses, who had been elected by the Interest of the Ministry, would be of more effectual Service to the House of *Hanover*, than concealing *Godolphin's* Crimes could do them Prejudice. He concluded, that by this Proceedure, I should do Justice to both Parties in general, and a particular Service to the Illustrious House; but desired me, first to consult Baron *Bothmar*, the *Hanover* Envoy, and tell him, this was Sir *Peter's* Advice.

Whereupon Mr. *Soamms* went to the Baron, who approved of it, and begged me not to communicate it to any Body, or any thing that passed betwixt Sir *Peter*, himself, and me: upon which I consented to appear, and gave most of my Papers, relating to the Invasion, to Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, who kept them for some time.

The *Whig* Lords, who then all joined to screen *Godolphin*, resented my Readiness to appear in Parliament; for they all believed I was become a Creature of the Earl of *Oxford*, and had gone over to that Side, which the late Lord *Molesworth* in Friendship told me, and much more that was said of me: Whereupon I let him, and several

several others into the whole Secret ; which, afforded them abundance of Satisfaction.

What I have said, must convince the Reader, that it was always in my Power to remove the Mistake, that I had turned what they called *Tory* ; but, I was willing to prevent any Diffidence that might happen among the Friends of the House of *Hanover*, if I had divulged the Secrets which *Botbmar* enjoined me to keep ; and so took every Thing upon myself, and let them continue in their Mistakes, for the *Whig* Lords had all deserted me, the Earl of *Sunderland* only excepted, who did me all the Justice in the World, in speaking to the Treasurer *Godolphin* upon my Account, when every Body else declined it.

But to illustrate this Matter, how the *Hanover* Succession was supposed to be in Danger, I must inform my Reader of some Accidents which happened towards the end of the late Reign, when the Minds of most People, who were well affected to that Interest, were filled with dismal Apprehensions of its Ruin.

By the Peace at *Utrecht*, the *Spanish* Monarchy was left in possession of the House of *Bourbon* ; which made most People think, it would be in the *French* King's power, when he pleased, to force the *Pretender* upon us ; but only hoped, that he durst not venture, to throw off the Mask, so long as the *Emperor* continued the War, upon which, our Safety in *Britain*, so much depended ; at least, so long as the Queen lived, which most
People

People were afraid would not be long ; because, of her Valetudinary Circumstances.

Upon this it was thought Convenient to encourage the Emperor to reject the Proposals of Peace with *France*, who being so shamefully abandoned by his Allies, and in no Condition to resist the United Power of *France* and *Spain*, probably might accept of the Terms of Peace *France* was then offering to him.

For this it was agreed by some People of great Circumstances, to raise a considerable Sum, which was to be committed to Managers to Equip a number of Ships of War, to be made Imperial Bottoms by a Deed of Sale under Trust, and consigned to Factors abroad : And that the Emperor should grant Commissions to the said Managers, to make War against *France* and *Spain* with their Squadrons, which were to Sail from different Ports, to the *West-Indies* for that end : That the *Buccaneers* there should not only have their Pardons, but be otherwise encouraged to join these Squadrons, by having the Emperor's Commissions granted to them ; that so soon as they arrived at the place of *Rendezvous*, they should Surprize the *Havana*, and Attack the *Spanish Galleons*, and so Proclaim his Imperial Majesty in the *West-Indies* King of *Spain*, granting Protection to all that were willing to submit to his Authority.

Certain Shares of all Prizes and Contributions were to be given to the Emperor, with the Dominion of all Places to be Conquered ; offering also, to carry the *Spanish* Regiments in the Imperial

rial Service, to the *West-Indies*, to Garrison the Conquered Places: A Court of Admiralty was to be appointed, and every Thing done to render the Undertaking Easy, Profitable and Secure.

These Proposals were accordingly made, with good Success to Merchants, &c. who undertook it; for there was no want of Money to manage it, of Ships, or able Mariners and Seamen, being just upon the close of the War, *Anno 1713*.

It was at last resolved to propose it to the Emperor, who, the Reader may easily suppose, would receive it with abundance of Satisfaction, and I had the Honour to be employed, and sent to him for that End; whereupon I embarked privately to *Holland*, and went first to Baron *Bothmar*, Envoy of *Hanover*, at the *Hague*, and communicated to him the Project, and Resolutions that had been taken, that he might send it in writing to his Court: The Baron was mightily pleased, and said, it was very evident, the Queen and Ministry had bad Designs: For a Person concerned in the late Assassination-Plot against King *William*, had passed by some few Days before, for *England*, with her Majesty's Pass in his Pocket; he said further, it would be a great Service, if I could persuade the Emperor, to hold out the War till the Queen died, else his Master's Succession to the *British* Crown, would be rendered precarious: He desired me to write to him, and promised to send the Paper I gave him to his Master.

I went next to Baron *Heems*, the Imperial Minister, and spoke with him upon the same Affair, who

who gave me a Pass, and a Letter to Prince *Eugene*: I posted immediately to the upper *Rhine*, and came to the Camp, about the close of the Siege of *Landaw*: I was introduced to the Prince by Baron *Langedle*, Secretary of War, and laid the Scheme before his Highness, which he liked so very well, that he was pleased to say, *I had given him great Satisfaction*: and after some stay at his head Quarters, he told me, that *the want of Rest and other Accommodations, would be very uneasy*; and therefore desired me to go to *Stugard*, the Duke of *Wirtembergh's* Chief Seat, where I should be accommodated according to my Mind, and he would take the first Opportunity to converse more fully upon that Affair with me.

I received his Civilities with grateful Acknowledgments, and when he came to *Stugard*, he said, the Matter was of such Consequence, that he advised me forthwith to proceed to *Vienna*, and said, he would write to the Emperor about the Affair; and gave me his Pass. I obeyed his Orders, and took Post for *Vienna*, though the Plague was raging in that City: For nothing could frighten or discourage me, from doing what I believed was for the Interest of the Illustrious House of *Hanover*: So that I ventured upon all Hazards, and came there the beginning of *January 1713-14. S. N.*

Next Day I visited the famous *Monsieur de Leibnitz*, and told him my Story: he answered, That he would wait upon *Monsieur de Emmesen*, the Emperor's private Secretary, and let him know of my Arrival, and get us together; by which Means

Means the Affair would come directly before the Emperor himself, who he believed would not lay it before his Council, in the ordinary way, but would treat with me by his Cabinet Secretary.

Mons. de Leibnitz return'd my Visit that very Evening, and told me, that his Imperial Majesty had received a Letter from Prince *Eugene*, upon the Affair, that his Majesty was well pleas'd to hear that I was come; and had ordered his said Secretary to meet me privately at nine of the Clock next Morning, that being the appointed Hour for that End, in the Gardens of the Old *Favorite*, in the *Leopoldstadt*; and that the Secretary had desired me to send my Interpreter to his House that same Evening, to adjust every thing for that Purpose.

Accordingly, next Morning I found him, as he told my Interpreter, and answered all his Objections, by which I soon found him to be a Man of excellent Sense. He desired me to draw up a Scheme of the whole, further than what I had then shewn him; mentioning at large the Method, how to put such a *Glorious Design* (as he called it) in Execution, with a Margin to mark such further Objections and *Notandums*, as might be made by his Imperial Majesty, who would Communicate the Affair to a *Spanish Grandee* at his Court, who had been Viceroy of *Peru*, and none other: For the Emperor commanded him, to desire me not to discover the Matter to any of his Ministers, or let any one know either what my self, or Business was; for he was ordered to receive all my Proposals to be carried instantly to the Emperor himself, who would signify his Pleasure accordingly.

Next

Next Morning the Secretary sent me Word, that his Imperial Majesty desired me to draw up what Papers were necessary to be laid before him, as soon as possible.

When I had finished the Papers, I sent them to the Secretary, who delivered them to the Emperor; and when he had perused and considered them, he sent me his Objections; which I obviated the best way I could, and returned them to the Secretary, and in few Days afterwards, we had a long Discourse upon the *British* Affairs.

He said, his Imperial Majesty was dissatisfied with the Treatment he received from *Great Britain*, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, and insinuated a Distrust of their future Conduct.

I endeavoured to convince him, that all the Transactions in *Great-Britain*, which I confessed the Emperor had no reason to take kindly, were done by the Ministry, only for their own Ends; but they who sent me with these Proposals, had all along shown a hearty Zeal, and Affection, to the Interest of the most August House of *Austria*; that the whole World was sensible of the Vigorous Efforts *Great-Britain* had made, while under the *Whigs* Administration, in Conjunction with the Emperor; and therefore, I hoped that from his Imperial Majesty's great Honour, and Justice, he would place all that had been done in the late dishonourable Treaty at *Utrecht*, to the Account of the *Tory* Party, and their Adherents, the *Jacobites*.

He answer'd, he was afraid his Master would be obliged to come into the Peace, for the Reasons formerly mentioned, which if he should make with *France, Great-Britain* might perhaps repent their deserting him; for they had no reason to blame him, for making the best Terms he could for himself, nor to expect he should trouble himself any more with their Matters; and that *France*, after Peace made with the Emperor, might perhaps endeavour to fix the *Prentender* upon the *British* Throne: Which, considering how he had been treated, it was none of his Business to prevent.

Upon this Reply, I was obliged to exert a little Courage, and begged leave to say he was mistaken; for the Revolution Party in *Great Britain*, were very much concerned at the Treatment his Imperial Majesty had lately received from their Queen and Ministry, and made all the Opposition they could to prevent it, but were ever over-power'd; and finding themselves not able to assist him, as they used to do, when they had the Queen, and Ministry on their side, they now demonstrated their Affections to the most August House of *Austria*, by irrefragable Arguments of their Sincerity; by which it would appear, that the Emperor, with their Assistance, could make himself Master of the *Spanish West-Indies*; or, at least, wound his Enemies in the Vitals, and attack the very Foundation of his Enemies Support, if he would but enter into the Measures I had the Honour to lay before him; by which, I doubted not but my Friends would make that separate Peace, the House of *Bourbon* had

had made with the Maritime Powers, such a Snare to entangle them, as all the Precaution they were then Masters of, could not easily prevent.

So that his Majesty had no reason to look upon the Revolution Interest with such an indifferent Aspect, which had, with Success, declared itself so heartily for the Interest of his August House, for if he did, he would only gratify his Enemies thereby; but especially the *Tory* Ministry, who wished nothing more than to establish the *Pretender* upon the Throne; which would effectually ruin his Friends in *Britain*, who had done so great Things for him formerly, and now given a fresh Proof of their Affections once more, by the generous Offers I had brought along with me of such great Services, at the expence of their own Blood and Treasure, without the Charge of one Shilling to him, or one drop of the Blood of any of his Subjects. Which Undertaking, tho' there were but few engaged in it, they had sufficient Means in their Hands to make all that I had offered effectual.

I presumed to affirm, that there was not a Revolutioner in *Great-Britain* less hearty and affectionate than my Constituents, and would as heartily venture both Money and Life, upon Occasion; for we were all resolved to let the World see what we would do for him, if the Foundation was laid.

I added, that the Emperor ought to consider the *Pretender* was so much in the *French* King's Interest, that he could be no more, in effect, than

a *Viceroy*, and must receive his Orders, being under such Obligations to him; and if the Powers of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Spain*, were United, *Holland* must quickly fall into the Hands of *France*, and then how long, pray ye, shall the Emperor keep his Court at *Vienna*? Or, indeed, have any footing in the Empire? For, be assured, the *Pretender's* dependance upon *France* would prove too strong for any Confederacy or Alliance the Emperor could make: so that in this Case he might say as *Ulysses* said to *Polyphemus*, that he should only have the Honour to be last Devoured.

The Secretary confessed what I said was true, and hoped to let me know more of his Imperial Majesty's Pleasure the next time we met.

We met the very next Day, and he told me, that he Reported faithfully to the Emperor what past betwixt us, who order'd him to let me know that he had weighed my Overtures and Answers to all the Objections he had made, and that his Imperial Majesty liked both very well, and that he received them as demonstrative Arguments, that the *British Whigs* were not concerned in what had been so lately done to his Prejudice.

He told me also, that his Imperial Majesty desired me to stay some time at *Vienna*, and keep my Affairs secret; and that he would come to a Resolution as soon as possible: Then he asked me if I would embark as one in that noble Undertaking myself; I answered, Yes, and would very freely venture my Life in such an honourable Attempt,

tempt, tending so much to the Glory and Interest of his Imperial Majesty; and I believed I could Promise, in the Name of my Constituents, to raise such a flame in *America*, as the United Powers of *France* and *Spain* should not easily find Means to extinguish.

The *Treaty* of *Baden* in the mean time went on, which, I believe, kept me so long at *Vien-*
na; for the Emperor waited the Event thereof, before he could resolve upon the other Affair.

It is to no purpose to trouble the Reader with any more Particulars of this Business, the trifling Excuses, Objections, &c. made to prevent the Enterprize, which, had it met with Encouragement answerable to so great a Design, would have proved of too great a Consequence, not to be easily discerned by every intelligent Person. I shall therefore drop it, to inform Posterity, that I employed my spare Hours at *Vienna*, in sending to the Electress *Sophia*, all the Light I got, and what Information I could procure of the *British* Affairs.

Monfieur *de Leibnitz*, shewed me a Letter, dated 1 *June*, 1714, wherein she desired me to come to *Hanover*, that she might have the Pleasure to see the Person, who had been so Zealous to serve her. Likewise her Niece, the *Rowgräfin*, Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*, and first Lady to the Court of *Hanover*, desired Monfieur *de Leibnitz*, to invite me to that Court, with Assurance to be very welcome there; and, at the same time, I received the following Letter from the Imperial Secreta-

ry at *Laxenbourg*, where the Emperor had gone a Hunting, viz.

Sir, I do myself the Honour to acquaint you, that his Imperial and Catholick Majesty is to return to the Favorita next Saturday, and that you are to have an Audience of him the Wednesday following, when you will have the Satisfaction to hear, from his own Mouth, the grateful Sense of his Obligations to the honest Party of Great-Britain; and how much he approves the noble Sentiments and generous Resolutions, which reign in the Spirits of your Friends.

I hope to be Witness to the Honour designed by his Imperial Majesty, in bestowing upon you the Marks of his Grace and Favour, as a Proof, that your Person has been acceptable to him; and that he intirely approves of your Conduct. I shall have Pleasure also in having the Honour to Embrace you myself; and to assure you, that I am, and shall always be, with the utmost Zeal and Affection,

Sir, Your most Humble and Obedient Servant,

Laxenbourg, 27 June, 1714. EMMESEN.

Upon the Emperor's return, the Secretary told me, that tho' his Imperial Majesty was pleased with my Proposals, and was fully satisfied, that nothing could be more for his Glory and Interest, yet he was obliged to refer it till he had executed some Resolutions he had made, in order to save the poor Catalans, and then I should hear farther from him.

I prepared myself for this Honour, and gave the Speech I had drawn up in *English*, to my Interpreter, to be translated into *German*, who was to repeat it after me; and on the Day appointed, I went to the *New-Favorita*, conducted by Secretary *Emmesen*, and was introduced by the *Count de Monte Sancto*, Chamberlain for the Day: Upon my entry into the Room, I made a kind of Curtsie, (as the Ladies do) which is their manner of Salutation, then advancing two or three Paces farther, I made another Leg, and a third at a proper distance, where I stood and addressed him as follows:

May it please your *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majesty, upon the late Treatment you have received from *Great Britain*, your *Imperial* Majesty may, perhaps, suspect my Sincerity; and that my Constituents, have no other Intention, than to draw your *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majesty into Measures, that may prove detrimental to your Interest. I must own, with Sorrow, the prevailing Party seem not so careful of your *Imperial* Majesty's Interest, as formerly: But I most humbly beg your *Imperial* Majesty to believe, that there is a considerable Party in *Great-Britain*, unfeignedly attached to the Interest of your most August House, who are both able and willing to shew your *Imperial* Majesty, before the World, what they can, and will do for the Interest of a Prince, they so much Honour and Esteem.

But being informed by Monsieur *Emmesen*, that you do not think it proper, at present, to accept the Proposals I have had the Honour to lay before

you, I can only assure your *Imperial* Majesty that my Constituents continue their Zeal and Affection, whereof they have given you such a Proof.

For me, I shall think it my Duty and Honour to be employed in any Thing that may contribute to your Glory and Interest.

I pray God long to preserve upon the *Imperial* and *Catholick* Thrones, a Life so valuable to all, who have the Good of Mankind, and the Liberties of *Europe* at Heart.

His *Imperial* Majesty was pleased to say, That he lay under very great Obligations to the Queen, and People of *Great-Britain*; That I had brought such a sincere Testimony of the honest Party's Affection there, that they might depend upon all the thankful Acknowledgments and Returns in his Power; That tho' he was satisfy'd, nothing could be more for his Glory and Interest than the Proposals I made in the Name of my Friends; yet the Regard he was obliged to have for the poor *Catalans*, who had deserved so well, prevailed with him, to do something or other for their Preservation without delay, and so could not positively resolve upon what I had offered thus visibly to his own Interest, at least at that time: your own Person, *said he*, hath been very acceptable, and I am very well pleased with your Conduct.

I shall only add, that the Emperor was pleased to do me much Honour, when I retired from his Presence, where I had been near an Hour, I went
to

to *Monsieur de Leibnitz*, and told him how I was received, which pleased him exceedingly, especially with my Success in one Point, which we believed to be material for the Service of the House of *Hanover*; and with good management, might be improved to answer the Ends that Court had then in View.

Next Day the Secretary presented me with the Emperor's Picture in Gold, set round with Diamonds; saying, he was Commanded, by the Emperor, to make me that Present, as a mark of his Grace, and special Esteem for my Person; that he approved of my Conduct whilst I was at his Court, and hoped I would value the Present, rather from the Giver, than from its intrinsic Value, tho' it was such as used to be bestowed on the Envoys of Crowned Heads.

He added, that his Imperial Majesty ordered him to use his best Rhetorick, and the most obliging Expressions he could, when he delivered it; and concluded, that these were his Commands, which he doubted not, I would Esteem more than all the Words he could use, since all that he could say, was not to be compared with such a Compliment from the most Sacred *Roman Emperor*, and first Prince of the Universe.

He presented my Interpreter also with a Gold Chain and a Medal.

I returned the Secretary's Visit the next Day, which I spent in taking Leave of several other Persons at Court.

The last Night I was there, *Monsieur de Leibnitz* did me the Favour to Sup with me, and gave me a Letter to her Royal Highness, now Princess of *Wales*, one to Baron *Bernstorff*, and some others, to the *Hanoverian* Ministers, he delivered to my Interpreter. We sat some Hours together, and then he took his Leave with real Marks of sincere Affection and Respect.

Before I left *Vienna*, I presented Mr. *Fury*, Agent to the *English Levant* Company, who lived there at that time, to the Secretary, as a proper Person to be trusted to carry on the Correspondence, which the Emperor had ordered me to establish betwixt us, and settled with Mr. *Fury* every Thing that was needful for that end, giving another Name than my own to make his Directions to me by.

I mention this, because, by that Correspondence, thus fixed, all the Schemes for forming the Emperor's *East-India* Company, were transmitted *hinc inde* betwixt *London* and *Vienna*, vide Appendix,

I took Post for *Hanover*, where I arrived in *July*, 1714, and a little after the death of that most Excellent Princess, the late Electress *Sophia*, I was presented to the Elector, now his present Majesty, and afterwards to her Royal Highness, now Princess of *Wales*, with *Monsieur de Leibnitz's* Letter, which she receiv'd very Graciously, as they Both did me. She told me, that she had seen the Papers I had sent to the late Electress, which had procured me her particular Respects.

I want Words to express the winning easy, affable Behaviour, and sweet good Temper of her Royal Highness at that time, to all our Countrymen, particularly to my Self; I told her of all my Proceedings at *Vienna*, and of the good Disposition I left the Emperor in, towards the Succession of the Illustrious House of *Hanover* to the *British* Crown: That she would soon hear my Lord *Middleton*, who was going to *Vienna* from the *Pretender*, would be but very indifferently received at that Court.

I shall not trouble the Reader with the uncommon Civilities I received then at the Court of *Hanover*, which the *English*, that were there, can testify; and in return, I took all Opportunities to let her Royal Highness know of the *British* Affairs in general, and what concerned her own Family in particular.

Baron *Bernstorff* desired me to draw up a Memorial, with the Substance of the Papers I sent the late Electress, and my Opinion of what was proper to be done at that time, to preserve the *Hanover* Succession to the *British* Crown, which I did accordingly; mentioning, briefly, what I have already wrote in these *Memoirs*; the State of the different Parties in *Great-Britain*, with my Observations upon the Practice and Management of the then Ministry. I presumed also to say, that the number of those, who affected the late happy Revolution Interest, was six to one; but whether the odds continues, or to which Side the Ballance preponderates now, I shall not presume to determine here,

Next

Next, I observed, that great Endeavours were made to perswade the whole Nation, that the Elector was neither framed for, nor fond of succeeding to the *British* Crown, and would hazard nothing upon that Account; which I believed was inculcated with no other View, but to possess the well-affected with such Apprehensions, that so despairing of the *Hanover* Succession, they might abandon the necessary Means for its Preservation, and be disposed to comply peaceably with the *Pretender's* Succession. I therefore thought it Necessary to use all Means to open the Eyes of the *English*, and lead them gently into the true discovery of their Danger, by convincing them, that the Methods the Ministry had taken at the Peace of *Utrecht*, had irreparably put it into the Power of *France*, to force the *Pretender* upon us when they pleased, if we did not bury our Party Divisions, and be more unanimous to preserve the Constitution.

That it would be of infinite Service to the Elector, if he gave us some publick Assurance, that he would not forgo his Pretensions to the Crown, but would stand by his Friends with an irresistible Resolution, which would give every one of us new Courage, and effectually defeat his Enemies Designs.

I represented likewise, that the strongest and most resolute part of the Revolution People was in *Ireland*; That the whole Province of *Ulster* would live and die, as one Man, for the Cause; That they were, even then, concerting Measures whereby to defend the Protestant Succession against
all

all its Opposers. That it would be a great encouragement to that People, for the Elector to give Hopes and Assurance of proper Rewards to all such as testified their Zeal and Affection to his Title, and begged him to look back so far as the Reign of King *William*, when the Garisons of *London-Derry* and *Inniskilling*, made such a noble Defence, that the Revolution Establishment, nay, the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain* was preserved from being a Seat of War, and consequently they deserved to be ascertained of having Justice done to them.

That, it would be Necessary to entertain a Correspondence both at Home, and in *Franco*, whereby exact Intelligence might be had of what was doing in favour of the *Pretender*, but especially in the Sea-Ports, where any Embarkation might be suspected.

That, as soon as the *French* King declared himself in Earnest, the Queen should be Addressed from all parts of the Nation, to call over the Protestant Successor.

That, the Electoral Family take care never to be concerned in the different Interest of *Whig* and *Tory*, so as to appear for one side more than another.

That, upon the least appearance of any Landing from *France*, we should take Arms in *Great Britain*, and a proper number of Troops from *Ireland* should land in the *South* of *Scotland*, from which it is parted by a narrow Channel, to be joined

joined by the *Cameronians*, &c. who would all be so Zealous, that they would march unanimously to *England*, and give the Revolution Party there, an Opportunity and Example to appear for the Cause: which the *English* seldom or never do, but when a Force comes to assist them; Witness the Civil War betwixt King *Charles I.* and the *Parliament*, and on sundry other Occasions.

To conclude, I thought it proper to apprehend the chief Men, and Heads of the *Jacobite* Party.

With this *Memorial*, I proposed a Method of Correspondence betwixt *Great-Britain* and *Hanover*; which when it was presented to, and perused by his Electoral Highness, he produced, and caused it to be read in Council; and next Day, at Court, he told me, that he was extremely well pleased with it; as did also Baron *Bernstorff*, and Baron *Gortz*, Chamber President, who Complimented me much upon it: and said, it was an honest *Memoire*, compiled for the true Interest of the Succession.

Not long after this, through indefatigable Labour and Application, I was attack'd with a fit of Sickness for a Week or two, which the Court seem'd to be sorry for, as they expressed upon several Occasions. And then came the News of the QUEEN's Death, and his *Electoral Highness's* being proclaimed KING, upon which the whole Court very seasonably rejoiced; and, when I recovered, I went to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and Congratulated him as follows;

May

May it please your MAJESTY,

It is with great Thankfulness to God, and infinite Satisfaction to my Self, that I have, now, the Honour to kiss your Hand, as my King and Sovereign: I am at a loss for Words to express my Joy upon this Occasion, and wish your Majesty a long and happy Reign over a Dutiful and Obedient People.

His Majesty thanked me, and said, *I had already proved my Sincerity and Affection to him.*

Next, I addressed the Princess of Wales, in the following Words.

May it please your Royal Highness,

I have, at last, seen the Happy Day, for which I have been very often willing to lose my Life, and which I have as often ventured upon that Account: My Joy is so exceeding great, that I think, all my Labour and Industry is more than Rewarded.

Which Professions of mine, I have a most convincing Proof, were intirely credited; for they have taken me at my Word.

Her Royal Highness was pleased to express her hearty Thanks, saying, *She knew I had spoken from my very Heart.*

The King was pleased to present me, by the Hands of Baron Bernstorff, his first Minister, with a Couple of Gold Medals of some Value; one with his own, and the other, with his Mother's Effigies: The Baron told me, his Majesty had sent me

me this Present, not as a Reward of my great Services, which were not to be compensated with such Trifles ; but only as a Token of his Royal Favour : But when he came to *Great Britain*, he had something in View for me of much greater Value ; which indeed I never yet had.

The *English* came to *Hanover* in great Numbers, it is easily known upon what Design ; and upon all these remarkable Accidents, I wrote the following Letter to *Monsieur de Leibnitz* at *Vien-*
na.

S. N. Hanover, 25 August, 1714.

SIR,

It is with the extremest Pleasure I have the Honour to Congratulate you upon the great and good News of His Majesty's Accession to the Crown of Great Britain ; and being now become his Subject, I must not presume to speak so freely as I did before.

It will be much for the King's Service, and the Happiness of Great Britain, that you instantly leave Vienna, and make haste to Hanover ; for, by reason of your universal Knowledge, particularly of the British Affairs, your long Experience, and great Reputation with the King, you are justly entituled, more than any Man in the World, to be his chief Counsellor before he goes to England, whose Manners and Language he is but too much a stranger to.

Pray

Pray pardon me, to put you in Mind, that the Success of all great Enterprizes depends much upon the Power which gives the first Motion, that one wrong Step being made, cannot easily be retrieved, and considering the present Divisions and Animosities in Britain, it will require uncommon Application to extricate him out of the Difficulties, which will unavoidably attend him, if he offers to take part with any one Side more than another.

I am sorry to tell you, That I also find the Hanoverian Ministers altogether unacquainted with our Country Affairs; that even Bernstorff himself, is led by the Nose in those Matters, by an ignorant Fellow called Robatham, who has nothing to recommend him, but his own private Interest, Party Rage, and Insolence enough to do too much Mischief at this Critical Juncture, upon which all our future Happiness depends.

Pray excuse this long Letter, and make haste; In the mean time, do me the Justice to believe, that I am with the greatest Sincerity and Respect, Sir, Yours, &c.

KER, of Kerland.

I likewise wrote to Mr. Fury, to use his Endeavours with the other, to make no Excuse or Delay; but being an old Man, and not able to make long Journeys, he reached not *Hanover* till three Days after the King went for *Holland*.

It was Presumption in me, to meddle with Matters out of my *Province*, and to use such freedom with his Majesty, as was Necessary at that time,

time, would ruin my Pretences to his Favour: But, from my sincere Affection to his Person, and Zeal for the Glory and Happiness of his Reign, when his Majesty arrived at the *Hague*, I drew up a second Memorial, and gave it Baron *Gortz*, to lay before the King, which he read, and promised to do it very chearfully, wishing his Master had many such Subjects, that desired his Interest more than their own. And when we met in *England*, I was to have an Account of its Success.

It would be Superfluous to publish this Memorial here; because a Friend promised to do it for me, with some other Papers, which are not so proper to be exposed by me at large; and therefore I shall trouble the Reader with a few of the most material Contents only.

After my Apology, I described the several different Factions, and their Original; that they did much Hurt and Mischief, both to the King and Nation; that if the King took part with any one of them, it would incense the rest, and make them his Enemies; for, not having Places and Posts enough for them, all those, who were not preferred, would, perhaps, justly enough, believe themselves as considerably deserving as those that were; and consequently, would be sure to run always Counter to the Court. That it would signify nothing for his Majesty to change Sides afterwards, for the disaffected Party would still Oppose him, and clog the Wheels, so as to make them drive heavily.

That

That *Great-Britain* was not like *Germany*, where the greatest part of the Property is in the Persons of the first Rank or Quality; but in *England*, nineteen parts in twenty of the Property, and a much greater proportion of the Riches, is in the Hands of a middle sort of People, which composed the Body of the Nation, who, for the most part, had nothing in View, but the general Good of the whole; such as the regular Administration of Justice, the increase and encouragement of Trade, and the Manufactures of the Kingdom, &c. That it was the King's Interest to go into those Measures with these People last mentioned; upon which the true Interest of the Country depended; and by these Means he would make the Body of the Nation his Friends, which was always strong enough to defend him from all the Discontents and Caprices of any great Men, who might happen to be Disobliged.

That it was dangerous for his Majesty to give the People (the Commons) the least Opportunity to fancy that he was led by his Favourite Ministers, but especially by Foreigners, to which the *British* Nation always had a particular Prejudice, being persuaded, that all their Calamities and Misfortunes, both of King and People, did naturally proceed from this great Evil; Witness the Reigns of King *James*, and *Charles* I. and II. But Queen *Elizabeth*, who had the wisest Ministry that ever a Sovereign in *England* could boast of, convinced her People, that she over-ruled and directed them, notwithstanding which, she was as much esteemed and beloved, as some of her Successors were hated and despised.

H

That

That taking care to distribute deserved Rewards, would make every one forward, but to neglect it, would provoke them to Indifference and Aversion; instancing a Passage or two in the Reign of King *William*, mentioning some Inconveniencies that great Prince hurried himself into, by his being Advised, too much, by his Foreign Favourites, the Earls of *Portland* and *Albemarle*.

That he should entertain some Men Eminent for Knowledge and Integrity, to inform him, in Private, of every Thing he ought to know; whereby his Ministers, finding he understood Mysteries by other Hands than theirs, durst not venture to impose upon him, which would persuade the whole Kingdom, that he was not influenced or byassed by bad Counsel, as some of his Predecessors had been.

I added, That he should, by all Means, discourage Bribery at the Parliamentary Election, and Distinctions of Parties, and factious Divisions; but more particularly, he should endeavour to extinguish the odious Names and Characters of *Whig* and *Tory*, which is to be done by preferring Men of Merit only, without regard to one Party more than another. That this was the only proper time to put these great and laudable Designs in Execution; for the most part of the Nation, to wit, the middle Degree and Rank of People, seemed to be weary of all such Differences and Divisions: That by such Royal generous Practices, the whole Kingdom would look upon him as their common Father, sent to deliver them, and would respect him accordingly.

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gainst the Interest of King George. I answered, that I could not then make him any Promise, neither was it Prudent in me to Correspond with him, that being the Secretary of State's Province; but, till the Ministry was established, and as it might be, for his Majesty's Service, to know what his Enemies were doing, I told him I would receive his Advices from time to time, and would encourage him with all the Supplies my private Circumstances would allow, till such time as his Accounts and Advices proved to be of any Consequence to be laid before the King; so we both promised and exchanged proper Directions, and parted.

When we came to *London*, Dr. *Brandenshagen* gave me the following Letter from the worthy Monsieur *De Leibnitz*, being ordered to deliver it with his own Hand.

S I R, *Hanover, Octob. 8th, 1714.*

I Had the Honour of yours at Vienna, which Mr. *Fury* delivered me, having made all the Dispatch possible; but the bad Weather, and my advanced Age, did not permit me to Arrive here till his Majesty was gone.

I believe he might have been found at the Hague, if I had taken Post; but I was afraid he would have been too much Crowded, to have Leisure enough to hearken to me upon so weighty a Subject; nevertheless, I resolved to come to London, but whether with the Princess, or at some other time, I cannot be positive.

I am glad you have discharged your Duty to your King and Country so faithfully, having read a Copy of the Memorial you sent with great Pleasure: I am entirely of your Opinion, and so was the late Electress: I hope nothing will divert his Majesty from following what is so much for his Interest, nor make him concern himself with the Party Quarrel of Whig and Tory; but to employ People of Merit and Worth in his Service, without respect to either, to be punctual in doing Justice to all, and generously rewarding them who deserve it.

Leaving, by all Means, the Elections of Parliament to the Peoples free Choice, discouraging Bribery, and such unsuitable Practices as have been used in former Reigns, which will produce an Assembly of Men of Honour and Worth; who will have nothing but the general Good of the Nation, and other generous Things in View.

I both Wish and Hope that our German Ministers, will never offer to meddle in British Affairs, which would not only be very unjust in it self, but, also very reasonably, make the King lose the Affections of his People.

I shall be glad of a constant Correspondence with you: Dr. Brandenshagen, an honest German, will receive your Letters, and forward them to me, under his Cover; you may safely trust him: I wish I may hear good News from you, and shall always remain with great Affection and Esteem,
Your most Obedient Servant, LEIBNITZ.

Baron Gortz, according to Promise, told me, his Majesty had graciously received my last *Memorial*, and assured me, that if I asked any Thing from the King for my Self, I need not doubt of Success; his Majesty having told him, at *Hanover*, that he would take particular Care of me when he came on this Side; he likewise promised to be a faithful special Agent himself, with the King, to obtain my Request; for, he said, he was convinced his Majesty could never forget my great Services: And, truly, I must be so Arrogant, as to believe, that no body else could have thought it, till once they peruse these *Memoirs*.

Upon this Proposal of Baron Gortz, I consulted some Merchants in the City, who desired me to ask the Government of *Bermudas*, in the *West-Indies*; which if obtained, it would encourage them to commence a Trade, which would be Profitable to the whole Nation, as well as to themselves, whereas it had been, hitherto, only a Charge.

My Friends, the Merchants, easily agreed to all Advantages I proposed, because they could have no such Expectations, but from such a Governour, who had been appointed by their Advice.

Whereupon, I drew up a Petition to the King, and delivered it to Baron Gortz, who received it with abundance of Pleasure, and said, he was glad I had given him an Opportunity to serve me, that he would deliver it to his Majesty, and second it with all his Heart.

I went to Baron *Bernstorff*, and told him what I had done, not doubting to Succeed, since I was willing to accept that Government as a full Remuneration for all my Services and Expences I had been at to serve his Majesty, which he knew had been all out of my own Pocket, and that my last Voyage to *Germany*, cost be above a Thousand Pounds, besides all other Charges upon many Occasions.

Bernstorff said, *He would likewise back my Petition, for it was very Just.*

But I was not a little surpris'd, when I heard from a *German* Favourite of the Baron's, nor long afterwards, that I could not Succeed, If I made not *Monsieur Rohatbam* my Friend, by a Present of Five Hundred Guineas, because he had such prodigious Influence with *Bernstorff*, that I could not expect Success another way.

I answered, not without Passion, that I was sorry to find such Practices suffered so very early among the Foreign Ministers, having lately given so seasonable an Advice to the contrary; that I would rather want, nay, renounce all Pretences to a Post, than give one of them a Farthing. The Gentleman replied, that the *Hanoverian* Ministers did not look upon themselves as Foreigners, for sure, said he, you cannot think they are come here only to learn your Language; if you resolve to keep your Money, depend upon it, you shall never have that Government, notwithstanding all your Pretences, which I know are very Just and very Deserving.

And accordingly, in five Days afterwards, that Government was given to another; upon which I went to Baron Gortz, who expressed the greatest Concern for my Disappointment, and told me, *Bernstorff* and *Bothmar*, were the only Foreigners, who interfered in *British* Affairs; and that he found with Sorrow, it was not in his Power to help me, tho, he well knew, how much I deserved the King's Favour and Benevolence.

Next time I met with *Bernstorff*, he looked with quite another Air than he used to do, knowing me not to be a Man for their Purpose.

Notwithstanding this Treatment, and all these Disappointments, my Affection to his Majesty was not in the least lessened; for I continued all Necessary Correspondence at my own Expence, with the same Zeal and Application as formerly; and as if I had enjoyed all the Tokens and Demonstrations of his Royal Bounty and Favour: for, I must now Confess, with Sorrow and Shame, that my too forward Zeal, rendred me so infatuated, that I not only spent what Money I had, but even borrowed large Sums from others, to procure Advices, which I thought so much for the Interest of my King and Country.

In my Correspondence, I was informed of several material Designs against the Government; particularly, from the Gentleman I met at *Rotterdam*: whom I encouraged with what little Supplies I could afford, never doubting, to be at least faithfully refunded: upon this Gentleman's Informations, I was likewise obliged to fix

a Correspondence with many Places in *Britain*; to find out how his Accounts agreed with theirs, and how much they were to be depended on; for they related very much to Matters of the greatest Importance that were upon the Anvil at that Time in *Great-Britain*, in concert with the Court, at *Barleduc*.

Having at last got to the perfect understanding of this Affair, and found it ripe for Discovery; I wrote the following Letter to *Bernstorff*.

London, June 7th, 1715.

SIR,

I think it my Duty to acquaint you, that there are some Things now in Agitation against the Government; which in all appearance, will come to Light very soon. There hath also been some Pains taken to convince me, that the Government hath used me very Ill; and that I am deceived, if I depend upon any grateful Return for my Services: And that, if I go into some Measures, and Designs, that are now forming against him, I may have it in my Power to retrieve my Misfortunes, by not only having my Peace made with the Pretender, but many other advantageous Offers, too long here to trouble you withal, and threatening me with Ruin, upon Refusal.

In spite of all my private Resentments, which I may justly conceive, against you know whom: I am entirely in his Majesty's Interest, and will venture anything to serve him, if he continues to believe that I am any way qualify'd for that end.

I have already engaged several Persons, particularly a Clergyman, who is willing, upon encouragement, to discover some private Transactions of the Cabal, being at the bottom of the whole Affair.

I depend upon your Diligence, to lay this before the King without delay; which I should have, by no Means, troubled you with, had not you told me his Majesty Commanded me to make you my only Confidant in every Thing of this kind.

Your Humble Servant,

KER, of Kerland.

I gave this Letter to a certain Great Minion of the Baron's, before three other Gentlemen, who will testify the Truth upon Occasion.

The Baron's Friend told me afterwards, that he had deliver'd it into his own Hands, but had no Answer: I desired him to apply, and press for his Commands, which, he told me, he had requested every Day, and could never receive any other Answer, but that he would consider on it.

I was much surpris'd at these Delays in Matters of such Consequence, but could find no Reason for it for some time.

I hope no Person will think me so foolish as to imagine, that the King's Chief Minister of *Hanover*, could be in the *Pretender's* Interest, nor do I Charge him with it; but the Reader may reasonably believe, that there was some Reason for it or other, which I shall lay open, both as to *Fact* and Opinion, in its proper place. I

I writ him a second Letter, and sent him abundance of Messages ; at last, he vouchsafed this Answer, that he had communicated the Affair to the Duke of *Montrose*, who told him, there was nothing in what I said, nor any Commotions or Appearance of an Insurrection, as I had told him.

Notwithstanding all this, which an Ill-natured Man may reckon Impudent or Insolent enough, in a few Days his Majesty went to the House, and acquainted them with the Danger with which both he and the Kingdom were threatened, and demanded the Necessary Supplies upon that Occasion, as by the Speech will appear.

Then *Bernstorff* sent a Messenger, desiring me to go to the Lord *Townshend* Secretary of State, and lay before him what I knew of those Matters ; but it was then too late, for the Earl of *Marr* was gone to the *Highlands*, and the Chief Men on that side separated.

No doubt the Reader will think I ought to have communicated those Advices first of all to the *British* Ministry, who, doubtless, were the only proper Persons to receive them ; but he must know, that upon the News coming to *Hanover*, that the Elector was proclaimed King, and my receiving the Medals above mentioned, Baron *Bernstorff* told me, he was ordered to desire the continuance of my Zeal to his Majesty's Person and Government ; and, that whatever I might discover, of Consequence, for his Interest, should be first of all communicated to Him ; who was likewise commanded to defray all my Charges upon

on that, or any other Account; which I hope, will be accepted as a good Reason, why I proceeded this way, though I must acknowledge, at the same time, it was a great Breach of my Duty, and a great Prejudice done to my Country; but the Truth is, my Affection to the King, together with my Belief, that it was his Special Commands (as *Bernstorff* told me) made me both Active and Passive in many Things, I have since had leisure enough to be ashamed of and repent.

But I am weary of this Subject, which occasioned the effusion of so much Blood, both in *Scotland* and *England*; which, from what I have already said, was in a great measure owing to *Bernstorff's* Management, and those in Concert with him; who by seizing the Earl of *Marr*, and some others at that time, might have easily prevented the Rebellion, and consequently the Destruction of so many Noble Families, who are now Sufferers thereby.

When I was disappointed of all my Endeavours, to prevent the Rebellion, which I foresaw coming upon us apace; and not desiring to be a Spectator of the Miseries my own Country must suffer thereby, I embarked once more for *Holland*.

And when I came to *Rotterdam*, I wrote to *Monsieur de Leibnitz*, a melancholy Story of my Country's Affairs; and of what Pains I had taken, to prevent unavoidable Mischiefs, but all in vain, because of the Baron's Negligence, and the other Foreign Ministers, then at *London*; except

cept Baron Gortz : I told him, That they were so taken up with amassing the Wealth of *Great-Britain*, that they never thought of any Thing else. I reflected on the dismal Consequences of the Rebellion, and the Foreign Proceedings, with some Measures, which had been taken, and created much Discontent.

Not long afterwards, I had an Answer to this Letter, by the same Gentleman, who delivered mine to him, representing his deep Concern, for the Occasion of our Misfortunes in *Britain*; that he had not been wanting, to give his best Advice, to the *Hanoverian* Ministers, but it seems likewise to no purpose ; and that he had often desired, and begged Leave to come to *London*, but could not obtain it : so that he resolved when he had finished his History of the House of *Brunswick*, and *Lunenburgh* ; to go to *Vienna*, and spend the rest of his Days, at the Emperor's Court.

No wonder, the *Hanoverians* opposed *Monsieur de Leibnitz's* coming to *Great Britain*; for they knew, the generous, noble Views of that great Man, must have been always employed to cross their Designs, and private Interest, in meddling so much with *British* Affairs.

But in our Correspondence, he said, my Presence at *London*, or elsewhere in *Britain*, and my Endeavours to serve my King and Country, would be very necessary, and therefore was so importunate with me to return, that, I could not resist the pressing Arguments of a Person, for whom I had

had such a Value and Respect; and so I came back to *London*, the beginning of *March*, 1715. upon the end of the Rebellion, which was happily very near reduced by the Courage and Conduct of the Duke of *Argyll*.

I was in great Affliction for the Sufferings of so many of my Country-men, and then retired from Court, to enjoy a private Solitude in the County of *Surrey*, where I might at leisure lament the unhappy State of *Scotland*, and the miserable Circumstances of so many Families, both great and small: Resolving to reflect upon the by-past Part of my Life, and repent that ever I commenced Courtier.

I had not continued in this State above a Week till a Gentleman was sent by Baron *Bernstorff*, to desire me to come to Court; which I refused absolutely, saying, they had render'd me incapable, or at least unwilling to serve them: for, since I had been denied the Happiness to have prevented the shedding of so much Blood, and the Ruin of so many Gentlemen and Families, I could not propose any Pleasure in serving the Government any more, and so resolved never to trouble myself with Court-Affairs, but to spend the rest of my Time in the most melancholy Retirement I could.

The Gentleman left me, and returned again with the same Message and Request, but receiving still the same Answer, he got some of my Friends to persuade me: And believing this Importunity proceeded from some fresh Advices he might have

received from *Monfieur de Leibnitz*, I was at last prevailed with to meet *Bernstorff*, who received me with a deal of seeming Respect and Affection, and said, he had found the Accounts I had formerly given him of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, were too true, and it would be much for the King's Interest, if I would renew my former Correspondence; promising, not only to reimburse my former Expences, but to defray all other Charges in time to come; besides a generous Recompence to my own Satisfaction. I begg'd to be excus'd, and gave such Reasons for it, as might have satisfied any other Man, particularly speaking of the late Treatment I had met with, which I thought was Caution enough to any body, never to trust to Court-Promises any more.

But he continued his Story, notwithstanding all I had said, and I was Fool enough still, to let him ask me, if I thought there were any new Apprehensions of Insurrections at Home, or Invasions from abroad. I answered, That there was no fear of any Invasions, if the People were made easy and satisfied at Home: And the only way I knew to remove their Fears, was, for those who had lately acquired so much Power, to use it with more Lenity, and gentle Behaviour than they had done; for it was not in the Nature of the *British* People to insult the Conquered; but rather, with all generous Humanity, to forget Injuries, as King *William* always did, by his Amnesty upon such calamitous Occasions, which never failed to answer his End: but the Reverse of such Lenity had been now advised; this the People

ple believe, proceeds from what they call the Barbarity of *Foreigners*.

But after many fair Promises to bring every Thing to bear, according to my Model, as he called it, at last I was too easily persuaded to establish a Foreign Correspondence, whereby I might know what Designs there were Abroad, to favour any new Insurrection at Home; and particularly to understand, what the Motions of the late King of *Sweden* meant, which filled the *Hanoverians* with dismal Apprehensions.

Accordingly I fixed several Correspondents Abroad, and always sent my Letters as they came, to the Baron. By the Demands therein, which were made upon me, he might easily see how expensive it was, to carry on my Intelligence, which he promised to clear, every time I asked him, according to my Accompts; but at last he sent me word to go to the Lord *Townshend*, having fixed that Affair with his Lordship, to satisfy all my Demands, for he was obliged to wait upon the King to *Hanover*.

I went to his Lordship accordingly, and asked if Baron *Bernstorf* had left any Instructions with him, about some Money which I had been out of Pocket; and which he promised to pay me for the King's Service; he answered, he had not, but doubted not, but the Baron would do it, as being the fairest thing in the World, and the greatest Injustice to neglect it.

Being

BERNE thus Abused, and Disappointed by *Bernsdorf*, I resolv'd to follow his Majesty to *Hanover*, and so went to *Holland*, in *August*, 1716, where I stay'd near three Months, to get Intelligence of Foreign Affairs, particularly of the King of *Sweden's* Designs, which the *Hanoverians* had been Whispering about as a mighty Secret for some time, this made me suspect there was something else in the Wind.

WHEN I came to *Rotterdam*, which was then full of my poor unfortunate Countrymen, who had fled thither, upon the Account of the Rebellion; one *John Bigs*, of the Queen's Head Tavern, formerly a Serjeant of the *Cameronian* Regiment, came and asked if I would be willing to meet Mr. *Robinson* of *Strouan*, at his House privately, having something of Importance to Communicate; and knowing him to be a Man considerable amongst the *Higlanders*, and a Man of excellent good Sense, and truly every way a Compleat Gentleman, I readily complied; and so met him, with some more of his Friends. Mr. *Robinson* said, he knew my Principles were contrary to his; both my Predecessors and my Self, having been always in the opposite Interest; but he said, as a Man of Honour, he doubted not, I was concerned for the Misfortunes of so many of my Countrymen; and hearing I was in *Rotterdam* in the way to *Hanover*, he was desirous to see me, to ask, if I thought King *George* might be perswaded to give a general Indemnity for Life; for his Estate; he said, he was willing to pay an Equivalent, nay, rather more than any Body else could make of it; for no Stranger he said, can make so much of our Country

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try Estates, as we can; and most of the Gentlemen, in my Circumstances, will agree to this Proposal, if it is Embraced: He said, he had not troubled me upon this Affair, but believed it K. GEORGE's Interest to take that Method as much as theirs; for King WILLIAM, he added, granted such an Indulgence, both for Life and Fortune, which produced very good Effects.

Now Sir, says he, If you can procure such Treatment for us, I hope you will do us the Justice to assure the Government, that they may expect a religious Observance on our Parts; but if they reject this, none will blame us to lay hold on any Opportunity to give all the Disturbance we can.

I answered, I was sorry the Insurrection in *Scotland* (which was the Occasion of their Sufferings) was permitted to go so far; for it was once in my Power to have prevented it: And I took so much Pains for that end, that I actually put the *Hanoverian* Ministers upon effectual and infallible Methods to have suppressed it, had they taken my Advice, which would have saved so much Blood and Treasure to the Nation; nevertheless, to make the best we could of a bad Bargain, I told him, they might believe I would be glad to embrace such a fair Overture, which, if agreed to, I was satisfied would tend so much to his Majesty's Interest, even if I had no regard to their present Calamities, which, notwithstanding, so affected me with real Sympathy and Compassion, that I resolved to leave nothing undone to get such a just Request granted them; and for that end would make

make a faithful Representation of their deplorable Circumstances to the King at *Hanover*, and the Ministry at *London*, with their Proposal, which, I must own, I believed it so agreeable to the Methods King *William* had taken on the like Occasions, that I had no doubt of Success.

WITH this Assurance I proceeded, being fond of an Opportunity, not only to serve so many good Families and Gentlemen in Distress, but even his Majesty, and the whole Nation: Besides, I had my own Jealousie (how little soever I depended upon the *Hanoverian* Whispers) that the King of *Sweden* might resent the Affair of *Bremen*, and *Verden* at that time, when there were so many Gentlemen to espouse his Quarrel, who wanted not Addresses enough to influence him upon less Provocation.

WHEREUPON I writ to Baron *Bernsdorf*, desiring him to lay the Proposal before the King, as a Matter of the last Consequence. Now the *Swedish* Invasion was threatned, to procure a general Amnesty to all the Rebels, who, I believed, would accept it; for the Gentleman, who had made this Proposal, was a leading Man, depured by the rest, as I suppose, and to conclude upon whatever he found to be for the Good of the whole.

I used abundance of Arguments with him, that the *Swedes*, being Protestants, would be more acceptable to the *Scots*, than any Popish Power could pretend to be: That it would be impossible, in case they landed, to prevent the *Presbyterians* and *Cameronians* from joining them, if their *Manifesto* was

was but adapted to our Principles; that the *Scots* generally love the *Sweedes*, there being many of our Ancestors, who signalized themselves in the Service of the great *Gustavus Adolphus*; whose best Officers, and a great Part of his Army, consisted of *Scotsman*; to whose Valour was owing so many Victories of his: Particularly, that Famous Battle of *Liepsick*; where the *Scots* were instrumental in driving out of the Field, and subduing the old Imperial Army; which had given Laws for so many Years to the *German Nation*.

I writ also to my Lord *Townshend*, to the same Purpose under a Cover, to Mr. *Morrison* of *Preston-Grange*, whom I desired to take a Copy of it before Delivery, and procure me an Answer, if possible: Which, from a true Affection to the King, and Compassion to these poor Gentlemen, he did do very honestly, but all in vain; for my Lord was then declining at Court, being in a little Time after that, dismissed from all his publick Employments, and consequently it was not in his Power: but no Body could doubt I deserved an Answer from Baron *Bernsdorf*, tho' I never could obtain one of him, relating to that Subject.

BUT one of those unfortunate Gentlemen afterwards told me, it was in vain to expect any Reply from that Minister; and said, if he had known it sooner, he would have saved me the Trouble of Writing to him, and that I might depend upon it, any such Request, in Favours of the unfortunate *Scots*, would meet with a very cold Reception by the *Hanoverian Ministry*; for he had

had good Reason to believe, that it was a received Maxim among them, *That the King could never be safe upon the Throne, while the Scots Jacobites had any Interest or Footing in Scotland.*

To convince me of this, he desired me to peruse a Pamphlet Published at that Juncture, endeavouring to perswade the Government, "they had nothing to fear but from *Scotland*, and "could never expect to be absolutely secured, but "upon the Ruin of that whole Party. From all which he concluded, that the Court of *Hanover* would not pursue the gentle and merciful Measures the late King WILLIAM had taken on the like Occasion.

I arrived at *Hanover* in the Month of *November* 1716, on the very Day the late Famous Monsieur *De Leibnitz* died, which plunged me into so much Sorrow and Grief, that I cannot express it. I shall not pretend to give the Character of this incomparable Senator, for more able Pens have already made Encomiums upon this truly great Man, whose Meritorious Fame must continue while Learning or the World endures; and therefore, I shall add no more, than to declare, in Gratitude to his Memory, that he was so much concerned and affected with the Hardships I suffered, that without my Knowledge he ordered a Debt of two hundred and thirty Pounds, which I had contracted in *Germany*, to be discharged out of his own Pocket.

I must confess, it afforded me Matter of strange Reflexion, when I perceived the little Regard that

was paid to his Ashes by the *Hanoverians*; for he was buried in a few Days after his Decease, more like a Robber than, what he really was, the Ornament of his Country.

I was obliged to stay a while at *Hanover*, before his Majesty and the Court returned from the *Gobre*, where they had been for some time a hunting, I prepared a *Memorial*; for *Bernsdorf* recounting all my Labours for the King's Service since he came from *Britain*; and particularly I convinced him, that there was no fear of an Invasion from *Sweden*, nor was there any Preparations in any of the *Swedish* Ports; and, that in all my Disquisition, by the best Intelligence, that Monarch was not able to give us the least Disturbance.

WHEN the Court returned, I went to Baron *Bernsdorf* with my *Memorial*, who receiving me with abundance of Civility, I told him, he would be therein convinced of the Services I had performed since his Majesty's Succession, and that I would attend him very soon, to know his Pleasure; he answered, *I should be welcome as often as I pleased*, and promised to peruse it.

BUT before I returned, I was surprized to hear a Gentleman say, that the *Memorial* I had presented concerning the King of *Sweden*, had so frustrated all my Intentions, that I should never receive a Farthing of my Charges, much less for the great Trouble and Pains I had taken, which I should be convinced of by the Baron's Reception, next time I went to Visit him.

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WHEREUPON I went immediately, and sure enough was convinced; for I was by his Servants most insolently denied access, and was forced to stand at the Door till he came out, and so threw myself in his Way, and asked him, *If that was the Welcome he had promised? and if, Sir, said I, this be the Treatment I am to expect, it is but reasonable I should be, at least, reimbursed of my Expences; for I have served his Majesty very faithfully, which I shall make appear in proper Time and Place; therefore, Sir, I demand my Money, which, I believe, by your Means, hath been so long unjustly detained from me.*

He said, *he would inform the King, and give me an Answer the next Day.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all this ill Usage, I was prevailed with to attend this great Man once more, expecting the Money I had so justly required; instead of which he left me, abruptly affecting a silent Disdain, which I really smiled at, reflecting upon his former obsequious Cringing, when he attended me with the Present of the Medals which his Majesty Honoured me withal, when I was there before.

I wish my Countrymen could have perceived what an Alteration the Climate and Cash of Great-Britain had made in him in so short a time.

NEXT, I waited on Baron Gortz, who was a Gentleman of Integrity and Honour, and told him how *Bernsdorf* had served me, which troubled him so much, that he tendered me his good Offices,

ces, to persuade him to do me Justice, which, I told him would be to no purpose; but if he pleased to tell the King, that I had Occasion for some of the Money I had disbursed in his Service, to carry me home, I would take it as a singular Favour, and as a Token of the sincere Respect he always expressed for me; being fully satisfied, he left no Stone unturned to adjust Matters, and put every thing in a clear Light, for he was heartily ashamed of *Bernsdorf's* Usage, nevertheless he could not obtain any other Answer; but that all *British Affairs were to be considered in Britain*; Tho' in a few Days, one of the Clerks of the *Finances* brought me a hundred *Dollars*, as a Present from the King, for which I returned my most hearty Thanks to his Majesty. Soon after this, I went to a *Hamburg* Merchant, who readily consented to take a Note of Hand for my Passage Home.

THE last mentioned Present, with the Two *Medals*, is all I have yet received for all my Services, both at Home and Abroad, tho' *Bernsdorf* told me, the former was only given me, as an Earnest of his Majesty's future Favours. These Minute Particulars I should not have mentioned, had not his Secretary told abundance of People here, that I had obtained several Sums from his Majesty, out of his *Hanoverian* Treasury.

I took my Leave of that Court, with a firm Resolution, never to return to it again; and from thence, I went to the Court of *Wolfembuttel*, and to that of *Rodolf Ludowick*, Father to the present Empress: After some short stay there, I went from
thence

thence to *Hamburg*, where I embarked for *England*, and arrived in *London*, 1717.

UPON my Arrival, *Baron Bernsdorf's* Secretary, came to Acquaint me, that his Master had Received a Letter from a Gentlemen Abroad, demanding some Money, that was owing by me to him, upon Account of Correspondence, wherefore the Baron desired to know, whether, I had Employed that Person or not: I told him, I had Employed not only him, but several others; whom I had supplied with Money, so long as I could, and that the Baron might Pay them all, if he pleased, the same way he had Paid me; tho I still intended to be re-paid, what Sums I had laid out of my own Pocket, for the King's Service if I could. But notwithstanding my most earnest Sollicitations, the Baron continually put me off with frivolous Excuses, Letters from his Secretary, and fresh Promises, broke almost as fast as they were made.

THUS after six Months Attendance, the Gentleman I employed, was at last desired by the Baron, to apply to the British Ministry (for, that he was no ways concerned in this, or any of the British Affairs) upon this, I dropt any farther Sollicitation; being convinced, I had no just Demands upon the British Ministry; as having not employed me. Thus I contented myself, with assuring the Baron by a Messenger, that he should find, as I had Reason, and Honour on my Side; I had also Courage to do myself Justice, since my due had been so ungenerously detained from me; but, it was often told, when last at
Hanover,

Hanover, that the *Memorial* which I had presented about the *Swedish* Invasion, had been the Cause of all the Resentment against me; I confess it was some small Comfort to find that I suffered Innocently. having inserted nothing in that *Memorial*, but strict Truth, and which was justified in a little time afterwards, by the Accounts several of our Merchants, who had a considerable Trade in the *Baltick*, had received from their Correspondents in most, or all the Ports of *Sweden*, and the Adjacent Coasts, that there was no such Preparations in any of those Ports for such an Invasion on any Parts of the *British Dominions*; nor in Truth, was that unfortunate Prince in any Condition to attempt such an Enterprize, his Country then starving, and his chief Supporter, the King of *France*, Dead.

I hope the Reader will excuse my enlarging upon this Subject, as being useful to set Affairs in a just Light, for the Service of my Country, which is all I intend thereby: And as a farther Illustration of this Matter, it will be very proper to trace the *Swedish* Attempt from its beginning, it being the Bugbear of that Time.

THE Czar of *Muscovy* and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, it is well known, formed a League against the King of *Sweden*, 1700, and in Pursuance thereof, they fell upon him with all their Forces at once. The Czar entering *Ingermerland*, set down before *Narva*, with an Army of an hundred thousand Men; the King of *Poland* at the same time, entering *Livonia*, besieged *Riga*, and the King of *Denmark*, attacked the *Ducal Holstein* in the midst of a profound Peace.

THIS

THIS so alarmed the Great and Glorious King WILLIAM, who had always at Heart, a just Sense of the Interest of *Great-Britain*, and the Ballance of Power, both in the North and elsewhere: That his Majesty sent a Fleet into the *Sound*, to Bombard *Copenhagen*, and to favour the landing of the *Swedish* Army near that City: Which being accordingly done, the *Danes* were forced to make Peace, for upon this, followed the Treaty of *Travendale*; whereby the *Dane* obliged himself not to molest the King of *Sweden* in any of his Dominions, either beyond, or on this side the *Baltick*, to which Treaty, *Great-Britain* became Guarantee, and King WILLIAM was obliged to Assist the *Swedes*, both by Sea and Land, with a certain Quota of Land Troops, and Men of War by Sea, as particularly specified in the said Treaty, in Case the *Dane* should at any time make a Rupture with the *Swede*, or Invade any of his Dominions.

ANNO 1709, The King of *Sweden* was defeated by the *Muscovites*, at the Battle of *Pultowa*, (his whole Army being, either killed or taken Prisoners, for he himself was forced to fly into *Turky* for Shelter) whereupon the *Dane* broke the Peace at *Travendale*, and attacked the *Swedish* Dominions, and took Possession of the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*.

The *Czar* of *Muscovy*, also pursued this Victory so closely, that he made himself Master of the *Swedish* Provinces of *Livonia*, *Esthonia* and *Ingermerland*, the most considerable and richest Countries in all the *Swedish* Dominions; after which

which he crossed the *Baltick*, and conquered the best and far greater part of the *Dukedom of Finland*.

IF we likewise take a View of the Situation of the *Swedish Affairs in Germany*, at that time we shall find, not only the *Dane Masters* of the *Dutches of Bremen and Verden*, but also pushing forward towards *Swedish Pomerania*, and the *Czar of Muscovy*, at the Head of a great Army, 1712, after this above-mentioned Conquest, advancing to Assist the King of *Denmark*.

THE *Swedes*, notwithstanding, they were thus reduced to the greatest Extremities Landing an Army in *Meclenburgh*, under the Command of Count *Steinbocke*, who immediately advancing, Attacked and totally Defeated the *Danish Army* at the Battle of *Gadrebush* Count *Steinbocke* pursued his Blow, and pushed into *Danish Holstein*. The *Czar of Muscovy*, who was advancing within a Day or two's March of the *Danish Army*, when they were Defeated at *Gadrebush*, finding that the *Swedish Army* was got into *Danish Holstein*, and pressing forward into *Jutland*, he followed them close, and besieged Count *Steinbocke* and his Army, after he had shut himself up within *Toningen*, which had been delivered up to him by the Order of the Duke Administrator of *Holstein*. The *Swedes* being thus surrounded, and wanting all Necessaries, were obliged to surrender Prisoners of War, whereupon the *Danes* taking the Advantage of the Duke Administrator of *Holstein*, his surrendring *Toningen* to the *Swedes*, seized upon the Duke of *Holstein's* whole Dominions, who was then under Age in *Sweden*.

THE *Muscovite* Army, after Count *Steinbocke* and his Army were made Prisoners, entred *Pomerania*, besieged and took *Stetin*, the Capital of that Province, which important Place, was soon after delivered into the Hands of the King of *Prussia*, by an Agreement with the *Czar*.

KING *George*, since his Accession to the British Crown, by the Advices of his Foreign Counsellors, purchased from the *Danes*, these Dutchees of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which they had forcibly taken from the *Swedes*, and in 1713, as Elector of *Hanover*, declares War against the King of *Sweden*, at the same time, the King of *Prussia*, joined by the *Danes* entred *Pomerania*, took Possession of that large and rich Province, and besieged the King of *Sweden*, in the town of *Stralsund*, who but a little while before, came Post from *Turky*, and arrived in that Town. The *Swedes* had prepared an Army, and Vessels to Transport them from Old *Sweden* to relieve the King, and preserve their last footing in the Empire, but were prevented by the Appearance of the *Danish* Fleet, joined by a Squadron of British Men of War; whereupon, after a glorious and most desperate Defence, that unfortunate Monarch was forced to make his Escape in a small Vessel, and *Stralsund* was surrendered. Thus the *Swedes* had abandoned all their Provinces in *Germany*, and had not the least footing left them on this side of the *Baltick*, being then shut up within the barren Rocks of old *Sweden*.

THIS

THIS is the true Account of the State of *Sweden* at that Time, whereby one may be easily convinced, that the *Swedes* were not in any Condition, to give us the least Disturbance in *Great-Britain*.

It would be manifest *Injustice*, to charge the British Ministry with advising the Purchase of the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, who could not be guilty of any thing so directly contrary to the Faith of King *WILLIAM*, and the British Nation in general, to which they certainly had yet a greater Regard.

NEITHER should the *Hanoverian* Ministry be blamed for this Advice; since their Duty equally obliges them to have a Regard for the Interest of their own Country; and to have as little Respect for the Credit and Interest of ours, as we ought to have for theirs: And as it is specially provided in the Act of Settlement, that *Great-Britain* is not to be concerned in his Majesty's Administration, as Elector of *Hanover*, so it may reasonably be thought, that it would be very imprudent in them, to endeavour to impose Falshoods upon the British Nation, especially when they are calculated only for their Political Interests.

I shall dwell no longer on this Subject, than to observe, that a little after this new Acquisition to the Electorate of *Hanover*, there was a Squadron of *English* Men of War fitted out, and sent to the *Baltick*, to straiten the *Swedes*; and a Proclamation issued out, prohibiting our Trade with them. I shall not presume to alledge, that the
Foreign

Foreign Ministers influenced these Motions, only there happened an Accident at that Time, which would Countenance such a Supposition, *viz.* Sometime before the prohibition of Trade with the *Swedes* was declared, or any of our *English* Merchants knew any thing of it; Advices came from Merchants Abroad at *Amsterdam*, &c. to buy up all the *Swedish* Iron they could find; for such a Day, the aforesaid Proclamation would be out, which answered exactly to the Foreign Advice; and afterwards, the Price of Iron was raised almost double, to what it was before.

It was thought strange at that Time, and gave some uneasiness, that Foreigners should reap the Benefit of this, which our British Merchants knew nothing of, till they had bought up all our Iron, and the Proclamation was out: Yet the said Foreign Merchants knew every Step relating to this Affair; and had sufficient Time to reap the Advantages arising from it.

I shall conclude with observing only, that there was a Squadron sent to the *Baltick*, for two or three Summers, till the Death of the King of *Sweden*, and their present *Swedish* Majesties confirming the Acquisition of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, to the Electorate of *Hanover*, and absolutely renouncing any Right or Title thereto, after which, that Squadron was ordered to act in Favour of *Sweden*, and defend the same against the Attempts of the *Czar* of *Muscovy*.

HAVING now got thro' the *Swedish* Affairs, I shall, in as short a Compass as possible, endeavour to

to satisfy my Countrymen, how prejudicial it will be to the Welfare, and Happiness of *Great-Britain*, if the Subjects of any Foreign State should have the least Concern in the British Affairs.

EVERY one knows, that the true Interest of *Great-Britain*, is to preserve the Liberty, and Freedom of Parliaments; Advance Trade, Encourage our Foreign Plantations, and Manufactures at Home; and to keep the Ballance of *Europe* even, without seeking to add one Foot of Ground to our *European* Dominions.

BUT the Interest of those Foreign States, where there are no Parliaments, no Trade, nor Privileges of Subjects, is to enlarge their Dominions, which they cannot be blamed for, as being so necessary to preserve them from the Insults of their Neighbours.

It is likewise their Business to cultivate a Friendship with the Emperor, who considering the great Power he hath lately obtained, is able when he pleases, to turn the Ballance among the contending Princes, and States of the Empire; for having his Friendship it would be impossible to disturb any *German* Prince in his Possessions, whether just, or unjust, but without it, none of them would be very easy, unless supported by some considerable Foreign Power: And this is the Reason why those who are so Zealous for their own or their Countries Interest; are always so ready to come into the Emperor's Measures, and Assist him in his Wars, which it is well known, the *House of Austria* are seldom free from.

It is possible this View of *Great-Britain's* Interest may, by the Ignorant, be misconstrued as a Mark of Dissatisfaction with his Majesty's Conduct; but none that know me, can surely be so base, as to charge me with any such unjust imputation; For it is very plain, that the Parliament, which settled the Succession, had the very same Thoughts in this particular that I have, by the Provisions they made in that glorious Act, against all possibility of Foreigners interfering with our Affairs, who were not only therein declared incapable to Enjoy any manner of Publick Office, or to have any part of our Legislature or Administration in their Hands; nor that *Great-Britain* should be obliged to have any Regard to his Majesty's Wars, or Disputes of any sort, as Elector of *Hanover*.

HAVING thus, from my Zeal to his Majesty's true Interest and Honour, as King of *Great-Britain*, and Affection to his Interest, delivered my Thoughts impartially on this Subject; I hope I need not repeat my Assurances, that I have not any other View, but to serve my King and Country, having advanced nothing, but what was the received Opinions of our wise Predecessors.

It is well known, and worthy of our Observation, that the Whigs entertained, and not without Reason, very great Fears of the danger of *Great-Britain* from Foreign Councils, and that the whole Nation in a former Reign was greatly surprized, when only one Foreign Lady, viz. The Dutches of *Portsmouth* was created an *English* Peeress, thereby apprehending, she possibly might influence

influence that Prince to favour foreign Interests. And if one Lady, in those Days, was capable to raise such Jealousies in the Minds of *British* Subjects; what would a *Shaftesbury*, or the other Politicians of those Times say, if they now existed! *Hinc ille Lacrymæ!* This Parallel is a Pursuit too dangerous for the Pen of any living Historian, so that in Concert with the Painter, here, I must draw a Veil.

It is true, The Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth* was not removed from King CHARLES II. the Nation bearing with his Favour to a single Lady in the Honour he had conferred upon her, tho' it was not without much grumbling. But it is as true in the very preceding Reign, the King found it necessary to send most part of the Foreigners, who arrived with his Queen back again from whence they came. And, we all remember, that the late Glorious King WILLIAM, of immortal Memory, was obliged to part with his *Dutch* Guards, fore against his Will; so strong was the Jealousie and Apprehension even against them, that he, to whom we owed our All, could not have the Liberty to keep them about him, though he earnestly intreated the Parliament, and told them, his Guards were always ready to obey whatever was resolved; but he would take it as a singular Favour, if they would let them continue with him, having been about him so long, even from his Infancy: But yet this small Request was denied to that Illustrious Monarch.

I must here intreat the Reader's Patience to observe, that the *English*, who ever since the Accession of *James VI.* of *Scotland* to their Crown, apprehended his being a *Scotchman*, might divert him and his Successors from their Interest, and incline them to that of their own Native Country: Whereupon, from that Day, the *English* industriously suppressed *Scotland*, and crushed every thing that ever was proposed and set a Foot for the Benefit and Improvement of that Kingdom; and have pursued that Maxim, with such Application, Labour and Industry, that it can be easily made appear, whatever was the Value of *Scotland* then, it is much less now.

AND we may also observe, that since the fatal Time, which was in the Year 1604, none of our Kings ever returned, but King *James VI.* only once for a Visit, and that a very expensive one: The *Scots* prodigally extended their Generosity to the Nobility and Others, who attended their King thither, and King *CHARLES I.* only once; and King *CHARLES II.* in the Time of the Usurpation was banished *England*, so that both he, and his Army were maintained at *Scotland's* Charge.

FROM these Facts, if we compare *Scotland* with any foreign State, it may be easily distinguished, whether *England* had more to fear, from the separate Interest, and distinct Views of *Scotland*, than *Great-Britain* hath now, from the separate Interest of other Confederate Courts.

To illustrate the Comparison, I shall give such an Account of the *Scotish* Nation, as may enable the Reader to judge accordingly.

SCOTLAND is surrounded by the Sea on all Sides, except on the *South*, where it joins *England*; which since King *James VI*, ascended the *English* Throne, made it impossible for them to extend their Dominions: And consequently, *England* had no Reason to be apprehensive of being drawn into a War, with any Neighbouring Prince upon their Account.

SCOTLAND had no Dependance upon the Emperor, or any Neutral Power, therefore *England* could not be engaged by them, in any Foreign Quarrel for their Sakes.

THE Seat of the Government, being *England*, the *Scots* generally speaking, resorted thither, by which Means the whole Substance, and Money of *Scotland*, hath always centred, and circulated in *England* since that Time, and yet, all these Advantages the *English* have had over us, and the Losses and Damages we sustained from them, were not sufficient to dissuade them from their unreasonable Jealousies.

BEFORE that fatal Year, 1604, the *Scots* had the Seat of Government in their own Country, which they had the incontrollable Freedom and Liberty to improve as they pleased, by Trade, and settling Foreign Colonies and Plantations, as *England* and other Nations do; they had always their ancient Allies, the *French* at Hand, and others
who

who were jealous of the *English's* Greatness, to Assist them in all their Undertakings, which would have increased *Scotland* proportionably with *England*; no Country being more capable of Improvement, or better situated for Trade, particularly to the *Indies*, than *Scotland* is.

BEFORE that time too, the *Scots* had vast Privileges and Immunities in *France*, even greater and more than any Native Subject of that Nation was even capable of.

A *Scots* Man was Enfranchised of any Town, City, or Corporation, as much as if he had served his Apprentiship there; *Scotsmen* have possessed the greatest Posts, both of Honour and Profit in the Kingdom; a *Scotsman* was Great Constable, and *Scotsmen* have been Marshals of *France*, the best of their regular Troops consisted of *Scots* Battalions, who had always the Post of Honour, both in Camp and Garrison, and guarded the King's Person; a *Scotsman* always kept the Key of the King's Bed-Chamber, &c.

ALL which Privileges are lost, ever since the fatal Year that King *James* became King of *Great-Britain*, only some particular *Scotsmen*, by their great Merit, have, even since that time, shined not only at the *French* Court, but at the Helm; *Monsieur Colbert*, a *Scotsman*, Prime Minister of State, raised their Finances from poor mean Circumstances, to the greatest Height and Condition they were during the late Reign. So it may be said, the Wonder of *France*, and perhaps, of all *Europe*, were *Scotsman*, viz. Him I have just now

K 3

mentioned,

mentioned, and the famous *Dun-Scotus*, who first brought Learning to any Lustre in *France*.

To come closer to the Point, I believe there cannot be the least Reason assigned, why any Foreigner should be better treated than the *Scots* have been; for to proceed with my Comparison, take it which way you please, or every way, I hope it is no discredit to them, if I say the Balance will incline to the *Scots*-side, both from what I have already said, and can still be advanced to the Credit of that Nation, who appeared very early in the Rolls of Honour, valiantly resisting the *Roman Eagle*, the Veteran Legions; who, after they had conquered most of the known World, were stopt in their victorious Progress, by the brave ancient *Scots*, with a *ne plus ultra*; they are likewise found in History victoriously opposing the ancient *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *English*, &c. And by their Valour, often saving *France*, which must otherwise have fallen a Prey to its Enemies; they are also to be found under *Gustavus Adolphus*, recovering the German Liberty from the Thraldom of the House of *Austria*, and penetrating to the Heart of the Empire, particularly at the famous Battle of *Leipsick*, gaining immortal Honour with Sword in Hand, driving the old Imperial Army, under Count *Tilly*, out of the Field, after the *Germans*, who had joined *Gustavus Adolphus*, had run away, and left the *Scots* and *Swedes* to Dispute the Liberties of Germany with the Imperial Army.

IN this War it was that the Scots did shew they could gain Victories, and wear Laurels upon the Banks of the *Danube*, long before the Battles of *Hockstet* and *Bleinheim*; for then was to be seen the brave Scots Generals, *Hepeburn*, *Lesley*, *Ruthwen*, *Hamilton*, *King*, *Lumsden*, *Stewart*, the two *Monroes* upon the Head of their Scots Corps, carrying all before them, and aggrandizing the great *Gustavus*; no Rivers were capable of putting a stop to the Progress of their Arms, nor strong Towns to hold out against them.

WE shall also find them entering *England*, with an Army to recover the Liberty and Freedom of Parliament, giving Life, and animating the *English*, who, till that time, were in a manner asleep, groaning under their Grievances in the Reign of King *CHARLES* the I. when they beat the Lord *Conway* and the King's Army at *Newburn*, and took *New-Castle upon Tyne*.

After all this, I hope it can be no Offence to say, that if it had not been for the Scots, *England* might have lost their Liberties at that time, and the Liberties of *Germany* had also been swallowed up by the House of *Austria*, if the Scots had not distinguished themselves in that long *Swedish* War, which ended in the glorious Peace of *Munster*; whereby the Power of the House of *Austria* and the Popish Interest were much retrenched, the Liberties of *Germany* and the Protestant Interest perfectly secured, and its Power increased by being made Masters of many Territories, and Popish Bishopricks, who were thereupon secularized and given to them; I may be bold to add, that

if it had not been for the Valour of the *Scots*, there would not have been a Free Protestant Prince in *Germany*, even at this Day.

It is true, I confess, that King *James* the first of *Great-Britain*, did too profusely confer his Favours upon some of the *Scots*, who did not well-deserve them, particularly upon *Robert Ker*, whom he created Earl of *Somerset*, but it is well known, the *English* took this Ill. even altho there was no standing Law or Provision made by them to the contrary.

BUT whatever were the Motives to induce the *English* to have so strict an Eye upon *Scotland* formerly, there is not the least for their so doing now, since after the Union of the two Nations, all cause of Jealousie is intirely removed; and it is farther to be hoped and wished, they would consider, that *Scotland* is as yet but in its Infancy, as to Trade and Improvements, and therefore, not in a Condition to bear equal Burdens with a People who are arrived to so great Riches, Trade, and Improvements as the *English* are, who could not have subsisted, if they had, when in *Scotland's* present Condition, been charged with the fourth part of the Taxes, which is now easie to them, for to lay the same Burthen and Weight on the Back of an Infant, altho it might be easie to one of mature Years, yet it would crush the former to Pieces; and no doubt, but the Wisdom of the now United-Kingdoms, will have a due Regard to it.

IF any body thinks I have been too hard upon the *English*, or have spoken with any manner of Spleen or Disrespect of them; I declare solemnly they do me a gross Injury: For, tho' our Country hath suffered greatly from them, I shall never blame them so much for it, as our selves, on account of the Union. I know very well what a brave People they have been, and how they have distinguished themselves Abroad, especially in *France*. How they have had great Men who have shined, both in Court and Camp, and still have some, and therefore ought to be respected by all Nations, as truly they have heretofore been, and still deserve.

I would only have them call to Mind how their glorious Predecessors, set even their Lives and Fortunes at Naught, for the Interest and Honour of their King and Country.

I come now to touch upon a very melancholy Subject, which I will do briefly, with all possible Candour and Tenderneſs; for to enlarge upon it, and give a full detail of Facts, would be too dangerous for me, and give Offence, which, by all Means I endeavour to avoid.

THE *South-Sea* Scheme, and the fallacy and fatal Consequence thereof, are too fresh in Memory to be forgot by any *British* Subject; that there was a pernicious and insnaring Design, to destroy and impoverish the unthinking Part of this Nation, is too plain, it having appeared so to the Parliament.

IT is certain, that there was a Secret and wicked Design in the Contrivance thereof; and it is as certain, that there was a Screen drawn before some gross Offenders; for none were exposed and punished but the Directors and Servants of the *South-Sea* Company, tho' most thinking People believed they were but Tools to others, who were never called in Question.

I shall not aver, that any of the *Hanoverians* were in this Contrivance, tho' many People at that time strongly suspected it, giving for their Reasons, that most of those People bought up Stocks very early when it was low, and had the good Fortune to sell out when it was eight Hundred *per Cent.* few or none of them were concerned in the Stock when it fell. But whether this proceeded from any foreknowledge of what was to come, or from a more extensive Capacity than the *English* were possessed of, is not in this Place proper for me to determine.

MUCH about the same time, there was a great number of foreign Lotteries set up, particularly one at *Harborough*, in the Country of *Hanover*; which seemed to receive too much Countenance here, and considerable Sums were drawn out of *English* Cash to carry it on: Which at that time afforded Matter of strange Reflections, that the then *British* Ministry did not exert themselves with more Vigour, to prevent the Ruin of this Kingdom; for a By-stander, who did not know the reason of their Insolence, might apprehend they

they were asleep; or had their Attentions drawn to some other Object which was thought strange, when the whole Kingdom was in Tears. Widows, Orphans, and many others lamenting the Loss of their Fortunes, the well-affected dreaded also other fatal Consequences; such as alienating Peoples Affection from the Government, and the encouraging our Enemies Abroad to assist the Pretender to make an Invasion upon us, which they had attempted some time before, and had certainly landed, if GOD in his infinite Mercy had not frustrated their Design, by dispersing their Fleet in a Storm. This was the unhappy State of *Great-Britain*, in the Year 1720, every Thing having a black and dismal Aspect; but when the Kingdom was at the lowest Ebb, and in a manner left without any Hope of Relief; the King was pleased, in his tender Compassion to his *British* Subjects, to recall the Right Honourable the Lord *Townshend* to be Principal Secretary of State, and Mr. *Walpole* to the Head of the Treasury, towards the latter end of this Year; and upon the Death of the Earl of *Sunderland*, which happened some time after, Mr. *Walpole* was placed at the Helm of the *British* Affairs.

So soon as this truly great Minister had it in his Power to serve his Country, he immediately, with the most prudent Conduct, invincible Courage, and heroic *British* Spirit, applied himself to Remedy, and put a stop to the base Incroachments I have mentioned; which in all Appearance, would otherwise have soon overflowed and destroyed, as they had already lessened and weakened

ened us; in the Opinion of our Neighbouring Kingdoms and States.

THE first Step he made in order to accomplish this Great and Glorious Work, was to curb and keep within Bounds, the Insolence of Foreigners; which in a short time, thro' the Influence of his wholesom Counsels to the King his Master, he affected with a publick Spirit, and generous Resolution in such a manner, as there has been no need since, to apply to Foreigners of either Sex, for any Favour at Court, nor any farther Occasion for their Tools and Brokers; which for some time has been a very beneficial Trade to those mean Spirits that would stop to it; then, and not till then, began the *British* Affairs to take quite a different Aspect, from what they had so lately before; then began the Interest of *Great-Britain* to be minded in the Cabinet, its former Splendor to re-appear, and its Power, to be dreaded Abroad.

I here solemnly protest, I do not mention this, with any Intention of Flattery; of which I think myself uncapable, but from the true Principles of Justice, and an unfeigned Sense of Duty; that every *British* Subject, who is not byassed by Prejudice, ought to pay to faithful Ministers, who deserve it so well, from their King and Country.

FROM their King, because of debarring Foreigners from intermeddling in our Affairs; the Affections of many thousands of thinking People, who before

before stood amazed and alarmed, are now reconciled to him.

THIS is certainly the greatest piece of Service, that a Minister can perform to his Sovereign; for by the removing Jealousies and Fears (the two Parents of Disaffection) in a Subject to his Prince, nothing can hurt his present Majesty, who Reigns in the Hearts of his People. He will always be easy, when the Administration continues in the Hands of the Authors of their Deliverance; and will also recover their Courage, and set about the just Means of enlarging their Trade, and the Improvements made thereon; when the tenderness of a Paternal Care proceeds from the Throne: Influenced and encouraged, by the Wisdom and prudent Conduct of wise Patriots.

THE next Step we find taken by this Illustrious Minister, was to put a Stop to foreign Lotteries; and particularly to suppress that of *Harborough*; which was narrowly enquired into, by the present Parliament, and to the immortal Honour of his Majesty, and both Houses was suppressed. And the Lord *Barrington*, the great Promoter of that Scheme, calculated to carry away our Money, and upon the Spoil of this Kingdom to enrich our Spoilers, expelled the *House of Commons*. Here was a Publick Check to foreign Insults, and insatiable Avarice, and that very much to the Honour of *Great-Britain*; thereby preventing the fatal Consequences of this Scheme, and the Ignominy and Reproach that must have attended it, had it been executed; I mention this Affair but briefly

briefly, because the Proceedings of Parliament thereon, are on Record.

IT is with an inward Pleasure I repeat one Passage I have observed lately, very much to the Honour of the present Administration.

THAT when his Majesty as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Oliva*, in Favour of the *Protestants* of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, did generously, and like the true Defender of the Faith, in Conjunction with the King of *Prussia* (that strenuous Assertor of the Cause of distressed *Protestants* every where) and other Powers interpose in Favour of the *Protestants* in *Poland*; and engaged his own Electorate in the Quarrel, in the Treaty of *Hanover*; that generous *English* Spirit, that conducted our Affairs, foreseeing that the Electorate of *Hanover* might thereby be exposed to the resentment of the *Emperor*, and the fatal Consequences that might thereby have attended that Country, did with a Noble and Generous Soul, forgetting, and overlooking the Injury *Great-Britain* had received from the Subjects of that State, in the Addresses of Parliament to the King, declared they would Protect and Defend his *German* Dominions from the Insults of any *Potentate* that should Attack them, upon the Account of this Treaty, shewing thereby to the World, that they would Protect *Hanover*, when engaged in a Quarrel for the Defence of the *Protestant* Interest, or the Liberties of *Europe*, and to the *Hanoverians* that they wanted British Assistance, to which they must have recourse, in time of Necessity; and be obliged to *Great-Britain* for it, as tho *Great-Britain*, I mean

mean its Governors had made use of one Expression of *Ajax to Ulysses*, before the *Grecian* Generals, who was Competitor for the Armour of *Achilles* (*Sub Clypeo late & mecum contende Sub illo.*)

To these good Purposes succeeded that Noble Stand made by the British Parliament, in Impeaching the Earl of *Macclesfield*, whose unparalleled Avarice, Pride, and Notorious Corruption, in the Discharge of his high Post, are justly recorded, by the unanimous Vote of his *Peers*, as most Ignominious.

FOR, as that worthy Manager *Sir George Oxenden* hath observed upon the Tryal, the Commons could not sit still, and see this great Offender Triumph in the Luxury of unpunished Crimes, without using their best, and most effectual Endeavours to bring him to Punishment, and to make him an Example of the Justice of the present Age, a Warning and a Terror to Times to come.

I shall add no more, but that the Great Seals were taken from him, and committed into the Hands of Commissioners, and some time after, were deservedly given to *Sir Peter King*, the most unexceptionable Man of his Profession: (Eminent for his Knowledge in the Laws, his great Capacity, Probity and Justice) to the universal Joy of his Country; whereby the Fears of Orphans being defrauded, or the Subject's not finding impartial Justice, are intirely now removed.

I must also, in Praise of the great and extended Views of the present Illustrious Ministry, for the Happiness

Happiness of *Great-Britain*, Observe another just Promotion, of the Lord *Trevor's* being made Lord *Privy-Seal*: This is a plain Demonstration they design to bury the odious Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, which has for many Years been so prejudicial to *Great Britain* and its true Interest: And that thereby it is designed to unite all *Britons* among themselves, by employing Men of exemplary Merit, without Distinction of Party-Names.

I humbly conceive this will prove of the greatest Consequence, and will, in a little time, make Us a happy and flourishing Nation; for this being accomplished, there will remain no other Names of Distinction, but only those that are Friends to our present Happy Establishment, and the base Adherents to the *Pretender*, which last will make but a very small Figure, in Respect of the former, then shall *Great-Britain* be terrible Abroad, and happy at Home.

I remember when I was at the Court of *Hanover*, in the Year 1714, I did my utmost to instill the same Principle into the *Hanoverian* Ministry, as I have all along avowed in these *Memoirs*; but was surprised to find Baron *Bernsdorf*, and most of that Ministry, very averse to Entertain any such Notion. I did not at that time discover their Reasons for it; but afterwards I believed that they were then afraid, that in this Case there would be but very little Occasion for them in *Britain*; whereas, otherwise they might at least expect some Compliments from our *British* Quality, which would no way be displeasing to them.

Indeed

Indeed Baron Gortz was of different Sentiments, as being truly a Man of Honour, a sincere Lover of the *British* Nation, and a hearty Well-wisher to its Happiness: The doing this piece of Justice to him, is all the Return I can make for his Affection to my Country, and the good Offices he was willing to do myself,

I mention these Facts, and the Importance of such wise and prudent Steps taken by his Majesty, and the worthy Patriots now at the Helm of our Affairs, only to raise up a due Thankfulness to our most Gracious Sovereign, and a just Gratitude to our Illustrious Ministers, who have given such remarkable Proofs of their Wisdom and Publick Spirit, in advising and bringing about such good and healing Measures, which gives so clear a Discovery of their Intentions to make *Great-Britain* happy, which I hope is now in a fair way to be made so by their Means, if not prevented by our own Folly, by going into Measures to create factious Parties, to retard the good and glorious Intentions of these our Deliverers:

A Word or two to *Great-Britain*, and I have done; I humbly conceive the true way to make one sensible of a Deliverance from Danger, and create a due Thankfulness to the Authors of it, is to shew the greatness of the Danger they have by their Means escaped:

I believe I might have been capable to open a Scene, that would have answered that End in every respect, but I desire to be excused from any part that would have given Offence, which I have

carefully avoided: But every judicious Person, that has any Memory, is capable of making such Observations, as well, if not better than I am: And, I doubt not, but all such, not prejudiced by Self-Interest and Party Views, will truly believe, that the Compliment which was payed by the *English* Parliament to the Duke of *Marlborough*, of his being the Retriever of the *English* Glory, is now with more Justice, and a much better Grace, applicable to Sir *Robert Walpole*.

To give my Reason for being of this Opinion, I conceive it will be proper, in this Place, truly and impartially, to relate the State of Affairs at the time when the Duke of *Marlborough* was placed by Queen ANNE, at the Head of the Army, and the Condition we were in, when Sir *Robert Walpole* was called to the principal Share of the Administration of our Civil Affairs, to begin with that of the former.

We are to observe, That the Great and Glorious King WILLIAM had rescued us from the Fears of Popery and Slavery, reduced *Ireland*, formed and cemented a Confederacy; composed of Princes of different Religions and Interests, and taught us to Fight in such a manner, that before the end of that first War, he turned the Chase upon the *French*, and took the strong Town and Citadel of *Namur* in the fight of their Army. He beat and ruined the *French* Fleet at that famous Sea Engagement nigh *La Hogue*, in such a manner, as they never after that were in a Condition to Insult us in the Channel: He formed afterwards the last Confederacy in 1701, which none else but himself

himself could have done; and finally, as his last Will and Testament, he brought about and finished his present Majesty's Succession to the English Crown; he had a noble Army composed of different Nations, a little before his Death, who were ready the very next Campaign to receive the Duke of Marlborough at their Head, and look the French Army in the Face; and after this, the Duke never wanted brave Troops nor Money at Command. This was the State of our Affairs, when the Duke first appeared in the Field, as General against the French.

Now, to give a true State of the *British* Affairs, when Sir Robert Walpole was placed at the Helm, which cannot properly be said to be, till after the Death of the Earl of Sunderland. I must confess, this would be too dangerous a Subject for the Pen of any private Gentleman, who has nothing but Truth, and no Court-Interest, to support him against the Resentments he would thereby draw upon himself, and therefore I must leave the Reader to his own serious Review of the sad Circumstances we were in, before the close of the Year 1720, who, if just in this, I do not doubt, but he will be of my Opinion, especially if the wise Measures that have lately been taken, are impartially considered.

HAVING finished what I have to say upon the foregoing Subjects, if I be called to an Account for it, I can, with abundance of Assurance affirm, That I am ready, with Pleasure, to undergo and submit to the Will of God, and whatever my Country shall determine, either for or against me.

I confess, the Publick would be at no Loss if I were dead, and my Memory buried in Oblivion; for I have seen too much of the Villiany and Vanity of this World to be longer in love with it, and own myself perfectly weary of it. And tho' with St. Paul I cannot *wish myself accursed*, yet I think I have Courage enough to offer up myself a Sacrifice for the Welfare of my Country.

If I have given Offence in these *Memoirs* to any of my own Countrymen, I shall be sorry for it, having endeavoured their Service, and not to disgust any of them by what I have written.



A N

Account of the EMPEROR'S
East-India Company,
Of its Foundation and Progress.

WHEN I was at *Vienna*, Anno 1714, negotiating some other Affairs, which are mentioned in the foregoing History; Monsieur *Leibnitz* told me, That the Emperor was so much pleased with the Zeal and Affection of my Friends for his Interest, that there was nothing we could reasonably demand of his Imperial Majesty, but what would be readily granted, he added, that it would be of the last Consequence to the *Hanover* Succession, to keep the Emperor firm to our Interest, and to neglect nothing to keep him in the good Humour he was then in.

THE Emperor likewise concerted with Monsieur *Leibnitz* at the same time, upon the bad State of his Finances, and inclined to borrow Money of his *British* Friends, upon a Mortgage of some of his Dominions, at an Interest of 8 per Cent to redeem another Mortgage the *Dutch* had upon the *Blacksilver Mines* of *Hungary* at an extravagant high Interest; which, he said, my Friends need not doubt punctual Payment of both Interest and Capital, within the time to be stipulated as

~~faithfully as had been formerly done in Silesia~~
~~Mortgage.~~

MONSIEUR *Leibnitz* also told me, that the Emperor's Cabinet Secretary was to speak with me, for tho' he knew I had no Instructions for any such Matters as borrowing or lending of Money, yet it was necessary for the Service of the *Hanover* Succession, that I should endeavour to oblige his Imperial Majesty, and give him all the Encouragement I could, and wished me to manage the Affair when the Secretary came, so as the Emperor should be pleased with it, without bringing myself under such Engagements as I could not perform notwithstanding.

THAT very Evening a Letter came to my Hands, from a very worthy eminent Merchant in *London*, who was deeply embarked to assist his Imperial Majesty to carry on the War, and attack the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*; informing me, that the Hopes of the well-affected in *Great-Britain*, were very low and small from the News they had just received of the Treaty of *Baden's* being finished, that both he, and many of his Friends, feared they would be forced soon to fly their Country, which they inclined to do, rather than submit to the Pretender; and therefore desired me to propose to the Emperor to establish an *East-India* Company in his Dominions, which, upon following such Privileges and Immunities as they should demand, they would not only Transport themselves and settle there, but carry on a very beneficial Trade to their mutual Interest and Advantage.

THIS

THIS Letter was enough to prepare me for a Meeting with the Secretary, who accordingly came the next Day, and told me of the Emperor's Intentions.

I answered, That since I left *Britain*, I had employed my Thoughts chiefly upon such Things, as I believed tended to serve his Imperial Majesty, and was surprized to hear, that such fine large Countries as the Emperor possessed, yielded such small Revenues, which must proceed either from the bad Management of those who had the Government of his Finances, or from want of Trade; if from the first, it was none of my Business, nor was I come there to accuse any of his Servants; but if it was from any other Cause, I supposed myself at Liberty to speak my Thoughts, and so I told him, that if his Imperial Majesty designed to borrow Money at a moderate Interest, he would do well to think of proposing other Security, than that of Mortgage upon Land; which Merchants, and monied People, were no way fond of.

I proposed to him the Example of *Great Britain*, who had Credit enough all the World over to borrow what Sums they pleased, upon Funds, arising from Trade; for tho' they were at that Time above 50000000 *l.* Sterling in Debt, yet they had never Mortgaged any of their Countries or Land-Tax; the Merchants being rather inclined to lend their Money upon such Funds, than Land Security. That it was nothing but the Trade of *Great-Britain*, and the Improvements thereupon, which made that Nation so considerable, and its Credit in the World so very good;

that one single Vote in the House of Commons, had made all the Forces of the Empire March, and alarmed all our Enemies and Neighbours round about us; and that it was our Trade alone had made us Masters of the Sea.

ALL which is evident from the Comparison of the present Power and Riches of *Great-Britain*, with what it was in the Days K, of *Henry VIII.* when we had no Colonies nor Trade; that *Great-Britain* is now ten times the Value of what it was then,

WHEREUPON I recommended to him, to set up an *East-India* Company in *Flanders*; that the Revenues and Customs arising therefrom, and the other inseparable Concomitants of it, might be a Fund of Credit to raise Money upon; which would be a better Security to the Lender to advance it than Land, or any other Security whatsoever. That no Country in the World was better situated for it than *Flanders*: The first Trade that ever was commenced to the *Indies*, being at *Antwerp*, which might have continued to this Day, had not *Philip II.* of *Spain*, by the Inquisition, and other Oppressions forced it, with its Merchants, to fix at *Amsterdam*,

I proposed that the Emperor should grant a Charter to my Constituents, with the usual Privileges; upon paying a Duty not exceeding 6 *per Cent.* which would make it the most considerable Company in *Europe*; and would afford him 1000000 Florins upon demand, as the British
East-

East-India Company had lent the Government above 3000000 *l.* Sterling at several times.

THE Secretary was very attentive, and thanked me for what I had said, but for my Life I could not answer all the Objections which they started, even tho' they seemed to be satisfied; for said they, the Glory of the Emperor, which of all Things we ought to be most tender of, would upon any bad Success, by unforeseen Accidents be tarnished forsooth, &c.

BEING provoked with such trifling Arguments, I bid Mr. *Fury*, whom I entrusted with that Affair in my absence, tell them, that if such little Difficulties had been regarded in *Great-Britain*, when first they commenced their Trade, they would have been in as poor Circumstances still as the Emperor's Hereditary Countries.

HOWEVER I gratified them to obviate even this Objection, that they might delay the establishing of a Company for some time, and only grant Letters of Mart to Merchants to make a trial; which if they had good Success, would encourage his Imperial Majesty to grant the Privileges demanded; and then if they did not like it, they might give it over, which would save their Glory, which they were so very tender of from losing any of its Lustre.

UPON this, Letters of Mart were issued out to sundry People, who all went to the *East-Indies*,

dies, and returned to *Ostend*, loaded with Joy and Profit.

SOME will perhaps find Fault, that I was so earnest and instrumental to fix a Trade in the Emperor's Dominions; so very prejudicial to that of my Country.

I have this only to answer for myself, that it was contrived in the latter end of the late Reign; when my Friends and I apprehended the Pretender must inevitably ascend the Throne; which must have certainly proved fatal to us, who had every way distinguished ourselves in Favour of the Illustrious-House, if we had stayed at Home, and therefore designed to make *Flanders* our Place of voluntary Banishment, which we thought would not only intitle us to the Emperor's Favour, but also enable us to live handsomely in a Foreign Land, that so we might the sooner forget our Native Country.

BUT, upon King GEORGE's Accession to the Crown, I became very cool in this Affair; for then I thought all our Fears were removed, and so I dropt my Correspondence with the Imperial Court as handsomely as I could.

I must own, it had been very dishonourable to have acted any Thing to the Emperor's Prejudice, to whom I shall always acknowledge myself very much obliged; but at the same Time I thought it my Duty to let King GEORGE know of every Thing I had done at *Vienna*; and for that end, gave a Memorial to *Bernsdorf*, to be presented to his

his Majesty, after he came to *Great-Britain*, not doubting, but proper Measures would have been taken for the publick Good of the Nation; but must own, it would be an Injury done to the King, to think that he received it, and I rather incline to believe, that *Bernsdorf* industriously avoided to inform his Majesty of what was doing at the Emperor's Court, so much to the disadvantage of *Great-Britain*, for Reasons best known to himself.

WITH Sorrow and Shame, I confess, that our *British* Ministry ought to have been acquainted with it, only that I had not then the least Suspicion, but all Means would have been used by their Advice, to prevent such Measures as had been followed Abroad to interrupt our Trade so effectually.

AND since I had a principal Hand in those Measures myself, I thought I was obliged to find out another Expedient, not only to preserve our *East-India* Company from the fatal Consequences of the Emperor's new-laid Scheme, but also to make even that Project turn to our Advantage.

FOR this End, in 1718, I sent for Mr. *Thomas Lewis*, who had for many Years faithfully served the *East-India* Company in an eminent Post, with Reputation, and shewed him the following Scheme, who said, he would lay it before Sir *Gregory Page*, to which I agreed, and was told afterwards that Sir *Gregory* desired me to meet with the said Mr. *Lewis*, who should have full Power to Treat upon that Affair, and intreated Secrecy.

MR.

MR. *Lewis* and I met several times upon it, but to no purpose, and at last we were told, that the Company was playing another Game, which I feared would turn to their own Prejudice, by applying to the Emperor's Ministers; that they should perswade his Imperial Majesty wholly to give it up, quite contrary to the Advice I had given them, and some convincing Reasons why that Affair was to be treated upon with the Emperor himself.

I likewise feared that this Affair would take a quite different turn, to what they intended thereby; for by these strenuous Solicitations, they would rather heighten the Emperor's Esteem of it; and that the Bills they brought into the House as a designed Remedy (whereupon there passed an Act of Parliament) would not prevent the Subjects of *Great-Britain* from being concerned in it, tho' under the Names of the Emperor's Subjects, and thus, I am also afraid, our *East-India* Company have lost an Opportunity, which they will not recover, the *Ostenders* and Others, concerned in that of the Emperor's, having found their Account of late so considerably in it.

AFTER all this, the Reader may easily see, with what Zeal and Industry I laboured to relieve our *East-India* Company from the Hardships they are now under, by their own Negligence, which if they do not take Care to amend, must soon reduce them to their Primitive Circumstances.

THE Scheme I proposed, was this, that the Company should send a proper Person to *Vienna*, to procure a Charter, which I am sure might have

have been obtained, nay, even in such Terms as would not interfere with the Regulations in the *English* Charter from his Imperial Majesty, to our British *East-India* Company, representing to him, that it would be of far greater Consequence to the Emperor in their Hands, than many others, whereby a great many fatal Accidents would be avoided, which most Companies are subject to at their beginning, and much Time and Expences saved in bringing this to bear, which otherwise must be lost, in an Infant Company.

I offered my Service to the *East-India* Company to go to the Emperor, if they pleased, and undertook to persuade him, to agree to every Thing that would redound to their Advantage, with such Arguments as I was sure would prevail, by telling him, that the *Dutch* would give him all the uneasiness in the *East-Indies*, that was in their Power; that our British *East-India* Company had a very great Trade already; that they were Masters of both Forts and Forces, sufficient to protect them from the Insults of the *Dutch*, or any other Nation, and that he would find it very difficult to manage such Schemes and Projects of his own, if he did not come into my Proposals, to join his Company along with ours, as knowing that a long Course of Time would bring these Advantages to his Door, which I then offered him at first setting out, and by his agreeing with us, and putting it into the Hands and Management of a Company already formed; they would have no more to do, but increase their Shipping and Factories in these Ports, and make larger Contracts with the *Indian* Princes.

AND

AND to convince him of our Sincerity, that that *East-India* Company had no sinister Design by getting his Imperial Majesty's Company into their Management, to act dishonourably with him, I would tell him, that they could immediately lend him 100000 *l.* at an Interest of 6 per Cent. to be paid out of the Duties arising from that Trade alone.

ALL this, and much more I laid before our *East-India* Company, with a Copy of the Memorial I designed to present the Emperor withal; and told them, I expected no Money, till the Charter was procured, and even then I offered to leave it to their own Honour what Reward such Services deserved.

I convinced Mr. Lewis, their Secretary, what Advantages would accrue to them.

1. THE fixing so small a Duty as abovementioned to the Emperor, would be such a vast Profit, as must give them extraordinary Advantages, over all other *East-India* Companies yet in Being.

2. THEY would thereby have a larger Market for all these Commodities; not only in the Emperor's Hereditary Countries in Germany, but Italy, Hungary, Flanders, &c. would by this Charter become their Market, exclusive of all other *East-India* Goods not imported by that Company; and every Body knows what a vast Consumption of *East-India* Goods there is in these Parts, where Pride and Vanity prevails.

3. THAT

3. THAT this Union of the Companies would not only deprive the *Dutch* of a large Market for their *East-India* Goods, but would check them from insulting, or offering to interrupt our Trade, as they have already done more than once, and are in a fair way to drive us entirely out of these Parts: *Amboyna* for that! But upon this Union, I believed they would scarce venture upon such Practices again; for the Emperor being Master of *Flanders*, it was in his Power to curb their Insolence by Land; and hoped it was still in our Power to do the same by Sea.

4. THAT upon this, the Price of the *East-India* Stocks would rise considerably, as appears by the late Union of the *East* and *West-India* Companies in *France*.

5. BY this likewise, would the Subjects of the Emperor's Dominions in *Flanders*, not only be prevented from getting Navigation into their Hands, which if they had, would be very prejudicial to *Great-Britain*, but our own would be very much increased.

AND lastly, by the Emperor's having such Dependence upon us, we should not only keep him our fast Friend, but should also oblige the *Dutch* to come into what Measures we pleased.

THUS I have sincerely discharged my Duty, and shall leave the Reader to his own Reflections; being sorry that those who were the principal Directors of our *East-India* Company did not take Care to prevent this Blow in time; for the
Empe-

Emperor's *East-India* Company will have such Advantages over ours, as we can never retrieve by the vast Disparity of Duties, which will enable them to undersell us, and deprive us of such a vast compass of Ground, as we can never expect henceforth to make any Markets in: Representing also to Sir *Gregory Page*, that this Company, when it should be established, would have another Advantage, as being fixed in a Country, endowed with Privileges and Immunities, where Liberty and Property is insured; so that it will be settled on as firm a Basis, as either the Companies of *Great-Britain* or *Holland*, and will be much preferable, even to that of *France* in this Particular; for whatever Freedoms and Privileges the Emperor shall grant to them, cannot be liable to be revoked, or to suffer any Hardships, as if it had been fixed in any other of his Imperial Majesty's Countries, or even any Nation under Arbitrary Government; the Liberties of *Flanders* having been perfectly secured, and the Subjects in the peaceable Possession of their Properties for a long time together.

THAT the Emperor was very fond of this undertaking, which the assiduous Solicitations of the *East-India* Companies of *Great-Britain* and *Holland* had contributed to, and for that end he long ago declared his Inclinations to introduce and encourage Trade in his Dominions; being sensible that nothing else hath rendered both *Britain* and *Holland* so considerable, by inviting Merchants from all other Countries to settle in his, and granting them what Privileges they demand, nay, every Thing to facilitate and advance

vance Trade and Navigation; whereof *Fiume* in *Istria* upon the *Adriatick* is an Example, which is now made a Free Port with all the Franchises that Merchants can Desire; he likewise Favours the *Protestants*, and, in short, omits nothing that may conduce to this great end, which alarms the *Dutch, Venetians, &c.*

THAT his Imperial Majesty was constant and true to his Word, which I had abundant Testimonies of, when I was at his Court: And all these Advantages are vast Encouragements to this New Company in *Flanders*, which, no doubt, will be established with the Emperor's first Convenience.

It was therefore in vain for us to hope he would proceed no farther than by granting Letters of Mart to Private Traders, because he cannot answer his first Intention, which moved him to grant it, otherwise than by forming it into a Company, which must be very valuable if the just Measures, and a proper Scheme be followed. And consequently that Trade would be a great Prejudice to the *English-East-India Company*, if the Charter should be granted to his own Subjects.

We ought also to be aware of something else that seems to threaten our Trade from the Emperor's farther Designs, which, if we be not, will affect us very much, *viz.* His establishing a Trade to *Turkey*, which was agreed to at the late Treaty of *Passarowitz*, with the Grand Signior in 1717, where our Ambassadors were present as Mediators, upon more Advantageous Terms than hath
M been

been granted by the Port, to any Prince or State in *Europe*, which will bring immense Riches to his Imperial Majesty, considering the noble convenient Opportunities he hath to convey Goods through his Country by the help of great Rivers, particularly the *Danube*, which is Navigable fifteen hundred *English* Miles, and empties it self into the *Black Sea*, where great flat bottom Boats run down quick, only by the help of the Stream, whereby all Goods can be conveniently carried into any Part of *Turkey*.

THAT the Staple of Wool, was also once in *Flanders*; and I do not see what is to hinder the Emperor from erecting a Woollen Manufactory there now; whereby not only many Places in *Germany*, *Hungary*, &c. may be supplied by the Rivers abovementioned, but even *Turkey* it self much cheaper than we.

ALL these Things considered, in my humble Opinion, we have not so much Reason to be alarmed at his Imperial Majesty's turning his Thoughts so much upon Trade, as either *Holland*, *Venice*, or any of his Neighbours.

He hath very lately formed a Company at *Vienna*, to carry on their Trade to the *Levant*; hath himself Subscribed 100000 Florins, as many of his Ministers and Courtiers have also done, for which, a Court of Directors is constituted, and a President named, to regulate that Commerce.

He is also endeavouring to engage the other Princes of the Empire, to Subscribe for raising a Stock to Encourage that Trade; which the *Turks* are so well pleased with, that great Numbers of their Merchants are arrived for that end in the Neighbourhood of *Belgrade*: And when he grants Liberty of Conscience in any of his Dominions, especially in *Flanders*, no Doubt, but the *Dutch* themselves would remove thither, if it were only to be relieved of the great Taxes and Oppression, they are necessarily under to their States, for their own Preservation: The Reasons are very evident, as his Advantages by granting such Liberty will be very great, for he knows very well, that nothing else hath made *Amsterdam* so Considerable: And if *Hamburg* had followed the same Measures, it would have been rather more; and it is also plain, that he is taking quite different Measures, especially in Matters of Religion and Trade, and very probably will be found to be the greatest Prince, having the most just, and noble Views of any Monarch that ever Swayed the Imperial Scepter since *Charles V.*

I shall now proceed to give an Account, how, and by what Means the Private Trade from *Ostend* to the *Indies* came to be erected into a Company, by his Imperial Majesty, but previously I must acquaint my Reader, that in an Audience, I had the Honour to have with the *Emperor*, in 1714, he was pleased to lay his Commands upon me, to have a watchful Eye on every Opportunity that might tend to his Service, appointing me a certain Canaille, whereby I was to communicate my Advices immediately to himself, through the Hands

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only

of one Confidant; for added he, when any thing comes to his Ministry, in the ordinary way of Business, it generally takes Wind, and becomes good for nothing; but when he came immediately to himself, he knew how to make the proper use of such.

IN the Year 1720, when the *Mississippi Scheme* had just miscarried in *France*; and that of the *South-Sea* was so vigorously carrying on in *England*; I was informed, that some *English*, and other *Stock-Jobbers*, were gone to *Flanders*, with a Design to draw in the Marquis *De Prie* into their dangerous Measures; and having been always an Enemy, both to the said *French* and *English* Schemes, which I was never able to reconcile to my poor Understanding.

I thought it my Duty in Obedience to my Promise to the Emperor, to endeavour to stop this wicked Design; wherefore I went to *Brussels* to prevent, if possible, the Introduction of any fatal Schemes, unto his Imperial Majesty's Dominions: Resolving, if I found the Marquis possible to Establish a Company of Commerce in the *Austrian Netherlands*, to offer him such a Scheme as I could answer for, both to the Emperor, and my own Conscience.

UPON my Arrival, I found the Marquis just taking Coach to go to *Aix la Chapelle* for the recovery of his Health; I immediately followed; and found him at *Judoigne*, where he presently began to play the Statesman with me, for indeed he was a consummate one: So not knowing what

what to make of him, whether he designed any Company or not, I took my Leave of him, giving him at the same time, the Scheme I had composed for the Emperor's Service, and returned to London the beginning of September 1720, from whence, without any loss of Time, I wrote to Prince Eugene of Savoy; giving him an Account of my late Journey to Flanders, and of what had passed between the Marquis De Prie and me, and sent him also an exact Copy of the Memorial and Scheme I had left with the Marquis De Prie.

ABOUT six Weeks afterwards I received a very pressing Letter from a Gentleman at Brussels, desiring me to make all the haste I could to that City, for he had something of very great Importance to communicate to me: I thought I had done enough to discharge my Promise to the Emperor, and was unwilling to move any more in that Affair; therefore returned an Apology, and a cool Answer to the aforesaid Gentleman, excusing my not going over, but my Excuses could not be received; for I had a second Letter, pressing my hastening over, assuring me no Excuses would be admitted; for there was a Person of the first Rank, appointed to confer with me upon an Affair which highly concerned the Emperor: I did not obey this Letter, but at last received a third, couched in such Terms as I could not any longer decline going over.

UPON my Return to Brussels, my Correspondent told me, It was not the Marquis De Prie, but the Count De Windisgratz, the Emperor's

first Commissioner of the ensuing Congress of *Cambrai*, and who was then at *Brussels*, and the Velt-Marshal *Vellen*, that had called me over, in order to Confer with me upon the Subject of establishing a Company of Commerce in the *Austrian Netherlands*; the two Counts, and I met accordingly, and after some Conference, they desired me to form a proper Scheme for erecting a Company of Commerce, and a Draught of a Charter to be granted by the Emperor, which they were to take care to lay before his Imperial Majesty, in Order for his Approbation; withal, they desired I would keep my Business very Private from every Body, telling me, at the same time, that the Marquis *De Prie* was to know nothing of it, and that he had always been an Enemy to erecting of a Company in these Provinces, because, thereby, he would be deprived of the Means of exacting, yearly, very large Sums from the Private Traders to the *East-Indies*, for their Private Commissions, which he, as Deputy Governour of the *Austrian Netherlands*, was authorised to give out, I was thus prevailed upon to compose a Scheme for erecting the said Company of Commerce, and a proper Charter to be paid before his Imperial Majesty; during all which time, I could not forget the many Ungentlemanlike Treatments I had so lately received from our *English East-India Company*.

I was sensible that the Success of all great Undertakings consisted in Secrecy, and in such a cautious and prudent Conduct, as all the Art and cunning of its Enemies, should not be able to prevent the Execution thereof; for Experience hath often

often proved, that a Wound given to any undertaking in its Infancy, generally proves Mortal.

I was aware of the Enemies of this Infant-Company, but especially the *Dutch*; who, I knew would stick at nothing, by fair or foul Means to destroy a Trade, that interfered with them. Therefore in order to prevent their taking such Methods, as would in time destroy this new Company, I took care in my Scheme and Charter, industriously to lay a great stress upon the *East-India* Trade, mentioning as little of the *West-Indies* as possible, and yet enough to authorise the Company to put in Execution, what really I intended for their Service; for what I had principally in View, was all along chiefly in the *West-Indies* intending, the *East-India* Trade in a great Measure, as a Blind to cover my real Design, and to render this new Company's Enemies secure in these Parts, where I resolved they should make their principal Settlements.

I was always of the Opinion, that the Trade which encourageth the consumption of the Native product of a Country, and the manufacturing thereof at Home, the Exportations thereof to Foreign Countries, where they are wanted, and that which in Return, Imports these Commodities that are wanting in *Europe*, and the Ballance in *Specie* must certainly be the only Trade to enrich that Country: And the Trade which Exports little or nothing but Bullion, and Imports in Return, only Superfluities to support Luxury, must certainly be Pernicious, and at last Fatal.

THAT the *Dutch* Trade to the *East-Indies* was really in Effect no Exception to this Rule; for it is to be considered, that by their being Masters of a vast Continent in the *East-Indies*, and having there almost as many Subjects as in *Europe*, those Advantages give them Opportunity to send thither, great Quantities of *European* Commodities; which prodigiously lessens the Export of their Bullion, besides that, they are Masters of all the Spice-Islands: But the *English* and other *European* Companies, who have only a few Forts and Factories in the *East-Indies*, would be Grievances, if the Luxury of this Age had not now made this Trade necessary.

I was also apprized, that an *East-India* Trade would prove more hurtful to the Emperor's Subjects than to the *English*, because the *English* have a vast extensive Trade to most Parts of the World, and in most of them, the Ballance on their side; whereby any Loss on our side from the *East-Indies* is insensible, and not felt by us, whereas the Emperor's Countries have very little Trade, whereby supplies of Money are Imported; therefore I believed an annual Loss of *Specie*, would soon empty these Countries of the little Money they had Current among them.

FOR these Reasons I had my Eye principally upon the *West-Indies*, and had pitched upon a certain Island, situated pretty nigh the *Spanish-West-India* Coast, at present in the Possession of no *European* Prince or State, and which none could pretend any Right or just Title to, having an Excellent Harbour, and capable of being made re-
nable

nable in a little time: But knowing that nothing could be kept a Secret, after it had been presented to the Emperor's Cabinet-Council, and before a Court of Directors, I took the Method I have mentioned, since the last Discovery might have ruined what I intended; which in few Words, was, that this new Company, under the Colour and Pretence of making two Settlements in the *East-Indies*, should have fitted out a few Ships with a competent Number of Hands Aboard, consisting chiefly of Soldiers, Artificers and Ammunition; with all Necessaries, Provisions, and Arms, who under the aforesaid Cover should have sailed to the *West-Indies*, and have taken Possession of the aforesaid Island, and thereupon, so soon as this Island was fortified, and made tenable, that the Emperor should declare it a free Port for all Nations to come and Trade in, upon Payment of a small moderate Duty, and also for all sorts of Persons of what Denomination and Quality soever, to resort to, and live in unmolested, both as to Body and Effects, upon paying a Capitation Tax; which Island would consequently have been the greatest Magazine and Storehouse of all the Product of *America*, and also of Money, to have exchanged their Commodities for those of *Europe*; especially those of the Emperor's Countries, which would not have been in the Power of all the Governors in these Parts to have prevented: Because a private Trade is not easily hindered, when an Advantage is found by it; which would have been very great in this Case, because it came from the first Hand, so that here would have been a Market for all the Linnen, Cambricks, Laces, Stuffs &c. that the Emperor's Countries are able to produce

duce and Manufacture, and they again be supplied from their own *American* Market in Return, with the valuable and substantial Commodities in *America*, and the Ballance in *Specie*.

I believe all this might have been brought about without any great Expence, for by taking care to establish an easy form of Government, the People would have flocked from all the Neighbouring Colonies, who very often labour under Grievances by the Oppression of many of the Governours; for it is well known, that nothing but the Severity of the Governours, forced several of the People, in these Parts, to turn *Pirates*.

WHAT might have discouraged me from proposing this to the Emperor, was, the Opposition it would at that time have met with from the *Spaniards*: But having, for several Years, carried on a Correspondence with several Persons, who had travelled over the *Spanish-West-Indies*, by which Means I had attained to good Knowledge of those Countries, and of their true Strength, and the Situation of their Affairs with the *Indians*, whereby I was in a Condition to satisfy his Imperial Majesty, there were at least forty *Natives* to one *Spaniard*, and such irreconcilable Enemies to them, that they were ready and willing, upon the least Occasion, to Rise, and join with any who would lead them on, and assist them in overcoming their Tyrannical Masters, and dispose of them at once. A *Scotsman* particularly, with that View, travelled all over the *Spanish-West-Indies*, and was long conversant with the *Natives*: This Gentleman told me, that the *Indians* had assured him, that the *Spaniards* had

had not yet discovered the Eighth Part of the Mines, and that the Richest were still concealed; and that they would never make any more of them known to the *Spaniards*; who instead of rewarding, continue to put them to the Torture, to Discover the rest; especially those of Gold, an Error which none but the blinded *Spaniard* would be guilty of: That the *Indians* farther assured my Friend, that if the King of *Great Britain*, or any other *European* Prince, would take them under his Protection, and furnish them with some Officers and Arms for that Effect, and allow them the property of the Mines yet undiscovered, they would freely give a fifth Part to such Prince for protecting them, and work the Mines at their own Cost, in which Case they would use and wear our *European* Commodities, and pay for them to their Deliverers, at any Rate; and that if they knew of better Masters, with a small Assistance, they would be able to expel the *Spaniards* out of many Parts themselves, and that even the *American Spaniards*, were weary of the Oppressions and Hardships they met with from *Old Spain*; and would make but a feeble Resistance against the House of *Austria*: He had assured me farther, that if the *Spaniards* should attempt to disturb the Emperor in his *American* Settlement, or *European* Dominions; he would want no more to make as sudden a Revolution in *New Spain*, as hath already happened in *Portugal*; only to send to *New Spain* a few Arms, Ammunition, Officers, and Manifestoes, proclaiming Liberty, and Property, in the *Spanish-West-Indies*.

I believe no Body at that time had any Prospect of a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties, or that a firm Friendship, and good Understanding, could have been established on the Basis it now is between them; and having been always of the Opinion, that it was not the Interest of *Great-Britain*, those two powerful Monarchs should unite theirs: I took the Course I have mentioned, to be an effectual way to prevent it, and this would put the Emperor under the farther Necessity of courting the Friendship of *Great-Britain*; whose Interest also it would have been, to have supported the Emperor in *America*, as well as they had done in *Europe*; because the greatest Part of the Advantages arising from this new Settlement and Trade of the Emperor's, would have come into the Hands of the *English*.

I proposed also in my Scheme, to establish a Bank in the *Austrian Netherlands*, quite upon a different Foundation from these of *England*, *Holland*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*; which I did not doubt but it might have been made a very flourishing one, and to answer Expectation, and would hardly have been weakened in its Credit.

HAVING thus given an Account of what I intended, this I concealed for the Reasons above-mentioned: I presented the Scheme and Charter to the two Counts, so soon as I had finished them, telling them at the same time, that there was a Necessity I should explain myself upon these Papers; I had then the Honour to give them; but that I would not discover the real meaning of them

them to any but the Emperor himself, because the Success of the whole depended upon Secrecy; I added, my Affairs called me to *England*, but I would return so soon as they thought it proper to send these Papers to the Emperor, and that I would be the Bearer of them myself, in order to discharge my Duty to his Imperial Majesty; all which being thus settled and agreed to between the aforesaid two Counts and me; they gave me a Writing under their Hands to Interest myself and Friends into the equal half of the capital Stock of the said Company: So I took my Leave and departed from *Brussels*. I arrived in *London* the 26th of *March* 1721, But I must return a little to acquaint my Reader, that when I was admitted at *Brussels*, there came a Gentleman from *Paris* to that Place, Mr. *John Colebrooke*, who taking up his Lodging at the same *Hotel* where I did, he found some Persons of Distinction resort to me, and that I had in a manner withdrawn myself from ordinary Conversation: He being a cunning Man, and perfect Master of the Art of *Stock-Jobbing*; took all the Ways imaginable to find out what it was, I was so much busied about, and at last I found the young Man who was my *Amanuensis*, had used some indiscreet Freedom with him; I thought it was my best way to make him my Friend, and engage him to me, so calling on Mr. *Colebrooke*, I told him, after a little necessary Introduction, that my Time had been intirely taken up, since my arrival at *Brussels*; in forming a Scheme and Charter to be granted by the Emperor, for erecting a new Company of Commerce in the *Austrian Netherlands*; and the Reason of my communicating so much to him, was, that by the Conversation

Conversation I had with him, I believed him capable of being very useful in the practical Part of Trade, to which I was a Stranger, as being only a Country Gentleman, and if he would be faithful to me, I would give him Opportunities of making Money enough to himself; which would be his true Interest, but if otherwise, or if he endeavoured to Supplant me, and Abuse my Confidence in him, he would find Shame and Disgrace attend such Practices; for neither He, nor any Man but myself, knew the meaning of my Scheme, and there was a material Difference between the Letter and Spirit thereof, which would prove fatal to him, and discover him to be a Cheat, but Mr. *Colebrooke* taking the deepest Engagements of Fidelity, I left him behind me.

UPON my Arrival at *London*, I found the British Parliament enacting some Penalties upon such as should be concerned in the Trade from *Ostend* to the *East-Indies*; but this was not the only discouragement I met with, for soon after this, I received Advice from *Brussels*, that Mr. *Colebrooke* was playing False with me, and had found Means to get himself introduced to the Two Counts, and by his Art, and cunning Contrivances, insinuated himself so far, as to be intrusted to Peruse the Scheme and Charter I had left behind me, and had Assurance enough, to make several Alterations in those Papers; whereby the Design I had of preventing the bad Consequences of *Stock-Jobbing* as far as could consist with the use of Property, was intirely cut off, and several Gaps opened for Private Ends, which I had in mind carefully guarded against, taking all the Pains I could to

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unite and cement the several Interests of the Emperor, as Sovereign, the Country and Company by giving each of them the Means of finding of their Account therein, and in such an equal manner, as none of the Three should have any just Reason to Envy or Grudge one another their several Advantages, which I believed would prove a very strong Foundation, for a Company of Commerce which was every Body's Interest to Support.

MR. *Colebrooke*, being flushed with these unexpected Successes, procured also, in a little time, himself to be intrusted with the Papers, and was sent with them by the two Counts to *Vienna*, with strong Letters of Recommendation from them to the Count de *Sinzendorff*.

I was very quickly apprized of all these Proceedings from *Brussels*, and very uneasy thereupon; knowing well, that Mr. *Colebrooke*, without giving myself any Trouble, would very soon confound and undo himself; so I composed myself, resolving to give Him full Liberty to follow his own Methods. I intended to give myself no farther Trouble in those Affairs, which had been so very Troublesome and Expensive to me.

So soon as the News was spread about, that Mr. *Colebrooke* was gone to *Vienna*, to procure the Charter from the Emperor, the *East-India* Companies of *England* and *Holland* took the Alarm; for in the Month of *October*, 1721, Mr. *Thomas Lewis*, before mentioned came to my Lodgings

Lodgings, and had a long Conference with me about the *Ostend* Affairs; he regretted very much their Companies not going into the Measures I had sometime before proposed, to procure them the Charter from the Emperor: I answered, That might easily have been done, and believed myself capable of unhorsing *Colebrooke*, and of doing that Favour still, if I were not now rendered incapable of it, by the late Act of Parliament; which the *East-India* Company themselves had been so very Industrious to procure.

He asked me if I thought there might be still any Means left to prevent the Emperor's granting the Charter: I told him there was, and that the *Ostenders* Trade to the *East Indies* might be laid aside, and that it was to no purpose to trouble him with it; for there was no Dealing with his Masters upon a Gentleman-like Footing; nor did I believe I could have any Credit in serving them; and that he himself knew very well how they had used me three Years since, he said the Case was changed, and that he really believed they would now act more sincerely, and generously with me than they had formerly done.

He at last prevailed with me to agree to meet with two of their principal Directors; whereupon I drew up in Writing my Proposal, and the Method how I intended to manage it, and the Arguments I would make use of to induce his Imperial Majesty to agree to a Suppression of a Trade from *Ostend* to the *East-Indies*; and how easy it was for me to discredit Mr. *Colebrooke*. Mr. *Lewis* in a few Days came and carried me to the
East-

East-India House, there I met with two very great Men of the Company, in one of the inner Chambers, where, after the necessary previous Discourse, Mr. Lewis read my Papers before them, which they seemed wonderfully to approve, and desired I would agree to go to *Vienna* my self, and manage that Business; I told them, my own private Affairs called me to *Scotland*, and it would be of great Prejudice to me, if I neglected to hasten to that Country, where an Affair of great Importance, to me, was come to a Crisis, and run a great Risque of losing it, if I was not very soon in that Country: But, if they were resolved to send me to *Vienna*, I would endeavour to engage a Gentleman in the *Middle-Temple*, who had been my Counsellor for many Years, and agree with him, upon reasonable Terms to go to *Scotland* to supply my Place, he having a perfect Knowledge of my Affairs: But I told them, I expected they would reimburse me what Money I should give him on that Account, which they promising to do, I accordingly, in a few Days, agreed with the foresaid Gentleman for one Hundred and Fifty Pounds for his Journey and Stay in *Scotland*, which could not be less than six Months.

IN three or four Days after, the same Gentlemen, of the *East-India Company*, and I, met again, when they asked me what I demanded for these Services? I Answered, I wanted only to be indemnified, and to have, in Hand, a reasonable Sum of Money to provide a suitable Equipage, and to bear my Charges till my return to *London*, and then, if I had Success, I would leave it to any reasonable Man, to determine what I should

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deserve

deserve; They agreed readily to this, and then desired me to use all the Means I could think of, to put a stop to the Charters going out, till I should arrive at *Vienna*.

I shall not be so Vain, as to say my Means put a stop to it, but its certain, Means were used, and a stop was put to it. At our next Meeting, they told me, the Affair was laid before the Court of Directors, and an Order given to issue out Money for that Purpose, and two other Directors were added to them, to finish what was requisite at that time, in order to dispatch me, and desired I would be as quick as I could, in making the necessary Provision for my Journey; which accordingly I did, and thereby run my self considerably in Debt, not then imagining I should, afterwards, have it to pay out of my own Pocket. At last, just as I was expecting to be dispatched, Letters came from Mr. *Coleman*, the *British* Resident at *Vienna*, giving an Account, that just when it was expected the Charter would pass the Emperor's Hand, *Colebrooke*, all of a sudden, came under some Discredit at the Imperial Court, and that a stop was put to the passing of the Charter.

THE *East-India* Company, as I suppose, (imagining this had proceeded from some other Motives and Endeavours than really it did) instead of meeting with me themselves, they sent Mr. *Lewis* to me, with my Papers, which they had in their Custody, and bid him, in their Name, Thank me for all my kind Endeavours to serve the Company; But, that now there would be no Occasion for giving my self the Trouble of going to *Vienna* on

on their Account, for, that they had received the good News, that the Charter was dropped.

Mr. *Lewis* delivered me this Message, and the Papers, with a deep Concern, telling me, that he was ashamed to look in the Face. I answered, he had no Reason to be so, but truly his Masters had; for they would find themselves in a Mistake, and that by what they had then done, they had lost their last Opportunity; adding, I would speak no more upon that Subject, for, they had, to say no worse of them, used me Barbarously, and very Unjustly, for, that he knew I had never received one Shilling of them, upon any Account whatsoever, first or last.

At last, I found my self obliged to make an Apology to a certain great Man Abroad, and lay the Saddle upon the right Horse. I shall not insist any farther on this Subject, for every Body knows, that sometime after, the Charter came out, and the Company was erected in the *Austrian Netherlands*.

It might be expected, that I should, in this Place, insert a true Copy of the Papers I gave to the Gentlemen of the *East-India* Company, the Minutes thereupon, together with their Names who treated with me; but being truly unwilling to expose any Set of Men, or Gentlemens Names, I have declined it, being now much broke in my Health, by the extraordinary Fatigues, both in Body and Mind, that by these Means, I have drawn upon me. I shall not give my self any farther Trouble in this, but am resolved to put them

into the Hands of two Friends, to do with them as they shall find Convenient for the Publick Service.

I shall therefore conclude, with giving my Reader a short Account of the Fate of Mr. *John Colebrooke*, with whom it fared, just as I had foretold; for he came at last to be discovered, or, indeed rather he discovered himself, to be what he really was, whereupon, very soon after the arrival of the Charter at *Brussels*, for establishing the *East-India Company* in the *Austrian Netherlands*, there came an Order from the Imperial Court, to seize upon the Person, and Papers of the said Mr. *Colebrooke*, and, accordingly, a strict search was made for him, but he narrowly escaped out of the Emperor's Dominions, so leaving him to Travel in Foreign Parts, I shall say no more of him.

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